Geographia Americae

with

An Account *of the* Delaware Indians

Based on Surveys and Notes
Made in 1654–1656

By
PETER LINDESTRÖM

Translated from the Original Manuscript
with Notes, Introduction and an Appendix
of Indian Geographical Names with
their meanings

By
AMANDUS JOHNSON
Author of the "Swedish Settlements," etc.

The Swedish Colonial Society
Philadelphia, 1925

This work is dedicated
To
His Royal Highness
Crown Prince Gustav Adolf

thus in a measure fulfilling Lindeström's wish of dedicating his book to an Heir of the Swedish Throne

Respectfully,
by the Translator

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PREFACE

The *Geographia* done into English was ready for the press in the summer of 1918, with a lengthy introduction on the Eastern North-American Indians as described in the early documents, the Indians in European Literature down to 1850, an appendix of Indian Geographical names, a discussion of all known maps of the Delaware region, and a complete bibliography. But the manuscript perished in a fire shortly before it was to be sent to the press.[1] The present rendition was finished in August, 1922, but, due to the translator's absence in Africa, publication was deferred. It was further delayed by the preparation of the Appendix of Indian Geographical names, which has been worked out, while the rest of the book was going through the press.

The translation is as literal as the English language will allow, and the constructions and order of words in the original have often been followed, in order to give some of the flavor of Lindeström's style. In rendering or quoting words, phrases, names or figures from the *Geographia,* the following principles have been applied:

(1) Names of well-known colonies, places, cities, etc., have been rendered in their English equivalents, as *Nova Svecia, Nova Battavia, Göteborg,*

[1] This will explain why the book was not issued as announced at that time. See *The Indians and Their Culture as Described in Swedish and Dutch Documents*, Proceedings of the 19th Congress of Americanists, 277 ff., foot-note, p. 282.

etc., thus, New Sweden, New Holland, Gothenburg, etc.

(2) The forms of the Swedish original have been retained in the following cases:

(a) Swedish or other proper names not well-known or generally used in English are rendered in their original form with their modern Swedish equivalent, and, when necessary, a translation in the foot-notes, thus: *Gijllenhaij* (*Gyllene Haj*), *Golden Shark,* Ancherhielm (Anckarhjelm), etc.

(b) Proper names which are similar in modern Swedish and English, or nearly so, but which are found in a peculiar form in Lindeström (in other words, in cases where an English traveller might make similar mistakes in visiting France, Sweden, etc.) Lindeström's original form is used, thus, Cales (Calais), Weijmullen (Wymouth), Styvesandh (Stuyvesant), etc.

(c) Figures, measurements, etc., follow the original, thus, ¼ mile, 1000 lives, etc., explained in foot-notes when necessary.

(d) Latin quotations are preserved in the text, but translated in foot-notes.

(e) Quotations in foot-notes from the *Geographia* are in the original (with modern Swedish, if different, in parenthesis), followed by an English translation, thus: ¼ *milh* (¼ *mil*), a quarter of a mile (Swedish mile); *åhr* (*år*), year, etc.

It is hoped that the notes will be found adequate; but the Introduction is now on a modest

scale compared to the earlier one, confining itself to Lindeström and his *Geographia.* The subjects in the earlier Introduction will be treated in a later volume.

* * *

"The one person and the one country," says Lindeström, "cannot dispense with the other, but need and require mutual aid and assistance." This is especially true of the investigator and the searcher for manuscripts of historic value, and only by generous aid and assistance from those in charge of our public or private collections will his labor achieve a full measure of success.

In this connection the translator desires to thank the officials of the Royal Archives, at Stockholm, for their kindness and courtesies, especially the Archivist Dr. Waern; acknowledgments are also due Dr. Wieselgren, of the Manuscript Department of the Royal Library, Stockholm, and the Archivist Dr. Boetius, of the Archives of the Exchequer, Stockholm.

It is also a pleasure to express my appreciation to Colonel Henry D. Paxson, of the Philadelphia Bar, for giving me access to his large and valuable collections of American Indian material and maps, and allowing me to use some of this material for illustrations. I desire likewise to record my gratitude to Mr. Albert Cook Myers, of Moylan, Pa., whose sound judgment and searching criticism are ever helpful, to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, whose encyclopedic information and marvellous memory were drawn upon in one or two points connected with the foot-notes; to

Dr. V. O. Freeburg, of New York, who read the proofs and offered helpful suggestions; to Dr. Montgomery, Librarian of the Historical Society, for his constant interest in the progress of the translation; and to Mr. Spofford, and the other officials of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, all of whom by their co-operation and service always contribute towards making work in the Society a pleasure; and lastly to The Swedish Colonial Society for publishing the volume, and thus raising a monument to the Cartographer of New Sweden and the first Ethnologist of the Delaware country.

A. J.

Philadelphia, December 21, 1924.

1. The Bro Church, Värmlandsnäs, where Lindeström worshiped. The square tower was replaced some years ago by a hideous modern structure. From an old photograph.

Peter Mårtensson Lindeström

Lindeström deserves a better fate than has been accorded to him by the biographical dictionaries of Sweden and America. We seek in vain for his name in any of the books that make it their purpose "to recount the deeds of worthy men." Even the publication of the *Swedish Settlements* in 1911, where a short account of his life was given for the first time, failed to put his name "on the map," and the splendid work of Munthe refers to his death as of unknown date and places this event several years after it took place;[1] while Almquist writes that he died before 1670,[2] although the above-mentioned book clearly states that "Lindeström died in 1691."[3]

Documentary data about Lindeström are few and scattered. The date of his birth (which could not be established when the author published his *Swedish Settlements*) escaped the most painstaking search. The church books in Stockholm, where this fact was certainly recorded, perished by fire and no other documents referring to the New Sweden engineer give any information on the subject.[4]

The author is now able to add this detail and supply other facts, making the account of Linde-

[1] *Kungl. fort. hist.*, 440 ff.
[2] J. A. Almquist, *Bergskol.*, 1637–1857, p. 235.
[3] Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 683.
[4] I searched through the *Bro Kyrkobok* (Church Book of Bro, Värmlandsnäs), 1692 [1689]–1726, but found no entry for Lindeström.

ström's life look somewhat more balanced. A copy, however, of an important letter, which contained much biographical data, was lost by the author with other documents, in 1918[5] and, although the officials at the Royal Archives and the Archives of the Exchequer have done everything in their power to help locate the original, all efforts have proved fruitless.[6] The author discovered the letter in 1908 among uncatalogued papers, but it was, at the suggestion of one of the officials, replaced in the old bundle, instead of being deposited with other manuscripts about New Sweden.[7] The bundle was then returned to the basement of the building and there the letter will presumably rest until a day when all the papers are sorted and arranged.[8]

Lindeström's character, personal habits, literary ability and general capacities are less elusive and are in many cases quite clearly revealed by his letters and reports, and especially by his *Geographia Americæ.*

In personal appearance, Lindeström was tall, robust and handsome. He had a romantic temperament and a mixture of that dreamy disposition and practical sense, with an inventive bent, that is so often typical of a Swede. "The poetic soul," revealed in sections of his writings, was

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[5] See Preface, above.

[6] Dr. Boetius, especially, has had literally loads of documents searched for me.

[7] The Account Book of the South Company which had been misplaced when the author finished his *Swedish Settlements* (see II, 798, note 7) has since been found and is now preserved in the Archives of the Exchequer.

[8] The main facts of the letter were used in the *Swedish Settlements,* II, 682–3.

coupled with a practical nature, observed in the fortifications and other "solid work" that he created.

He loved argument for its own sake—he was ever ready to defend his religious faith or his native land—and you feel that, like Goldsmith's Schoolmaster, "though vanquished he could argue still." He was quick to anger, and woe to the opponent who "carried a joke too far!" He was especially sensitive about his nationality and was, perhaps, somewhat overbearing in his relations with foreigners. On the Canaries he angered a Frenchman, possibly by some remark about "la grande nation" or its inhabitants. The Frenchman swore vengeance and plotted attack, but he had misjudged his man. Lindeström, although taken unawares (he was not able to draw his sword), administered such a drubbing to his adversary and pelted him so with the broken hilt of his own sword, that he "no longer looked like a man." But even this punishment seemed insufficient to the young Swede. He carried the case to the Governor, who imprisoned the Frenchman in the castle and caused him to "run the gauntlet six times through two companies."[9] On a visit to Fort Christina an Englishman "used his mouth too freely." Lindeström promptly "pounded him blue." For this offence he was arrested and brought to court, but mitigating circumstances saved him from prison.

He caught the funny side of things and a playful humor often enlivens his narrative. He was

[9] See Chapt. I, 55–6, below.

a skilful impersonator, judging from his experiences in Mecklenburg, and was somewhat given to display.

He was an accomplished linguist, with a knowledge of Latin, German, Dutch and French, and during his stay on the Delaware he picked up much of the Lenapé dialect.

He was a close observer and an ardent seeker for information in many fields,—he would walk miles and spare neither time, trouble nor means to obtain "facts and figures" about his special subject, the science of fortification. He entered into the religious processions and festivities of the Canaries, he studied English customs and manners, he gathered information about the American Indians, he located every creek and river that entered the Delaware from its mouth to the falls and searched out their native names,—all with the same zeal and the same enthusiasm. His literary ability was considerable and there are sections in his *Geographia* that are almost brilliant.

Lindeström was deeply religious in the sense of the period, but superstitious and violently intolerant, like his age. His writings are sprinkled with religious expressions and his *Geographia* ends with a prayer.

He was a restless character with an inborn love of travel and adventure and he never lost an opportunity "to try his fortune in foreign parts." Even on his return to Europe after his long absence and perilous journeys to and from New Sweden, he did not, as the majority of others, repair directly to Stockholm to his friends and

family, but passed through Holland, Germany and Denmark "to see the world."

* * *

Lindeström came of good old stock from Southern Sweden. His grandfather, Måns Jönsson, was a Burgher from Nylöse.[10] His father, Mårten Månsson (born in 1602), moved to Stockholm about, or some time before, 1621, and settled in the Parish of Klara. He was a man of considerable ability and as Secretary of the College of Mines, an important position, he gained the respect of his superiors and the admiration of his equals. He was granted many privileges by the Government[11] and was knighted in 1652, adopting the name of Lindeström of Knäpla and Rönninge.[12] He died in 1666.[13] By his wife Eliza-

[10] See *Sandb. saml.*, F. F. 11572; Anrep calls him Måns Mårtensson.

Nylöse, not found in Rosenberg, *Handlexikon*, which seems to indicate that the town no longer exists.

[11] In 1641 he was granted 500 *D.* s. m. to complete his building and in the autumn of the same year he was given an estate in Västergötland. See *Rådspr.*, 1632, p. 237; 1641, pp. 602, 729.

[12] Feb. 16, 1652, *Rådspr.*, 1652, p. 266.

Lindeström is a rather uncommon name in Swedish documents of the period. I can remember seeing it but once before this time, namely in *Handl. rör. skand. hist.*, XXV, 65, referred to there in connection with the boundary line between Sweden and Denmark (1554). Cf. also *Ny Sv. släktbok*, 1906, p. 353 ff.

[13] Mårten Månsson was employed "*i det Kongl. Hoffcanzeliedt*" in 1627. After "sixteen years service," he was appointed Secretary in the College of Mines (Bergzcollegio) "from its beginning", and remained in this office "for twenty years" "up to 1657, when he had to resign on account of the infirmities of old age." After his resignation, he withdrew to the country to spend his declining years in quiet. He managed to save a little for his old age and at times helped his sons out of financial difficulties. He suffered through the so-called *Reduction*, by which his holdings automatically reverted to the government; only "a small estate down in Wästergötland" remained in his possession, and that brought only "2½ lbs. of butter in annual income." His faithful services,

beth, he had at least one daughter[14] and two sons, Johan and Pär or Peter, "the hero of our tale."

Peter Mårtensson Lindeström was born in Stockholm on May 18, 1632,[15] and was probably baptized at Klara Church. He undoubtedly attended the Parish school and later the *Gymnasium,* or High School, whereupon he entered the University of Upsala in 1647; the first entry in the list of students giving Lindeström's name being as follows: "*1647 Januario* Petrus Martini, Stockholmensis."[16] Perhaps through lack of means (it must have been difficult for Mårten Månsson to

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however, were not forgotten and his petition for the retention of the income from the estates, though not granted in the form he asked, was not entirely unheeded. It appears that his salary as secretary was continued after his resignation ("med ett nådeåhr of min Sahl. mans för detta åthnutne Secreterare Löhn").

Two paragraphs of the will made jointly by Månsson and his wife read as follows:

1. Efter som wij å ingen dera sijdan någon deel hafwa erft, utan wår egendom gönom Gudz nådige wälsignelse förwärfwat är, des Gudh ewinnerligen ehrat, alt så står oss fritt ther medh *disponera,* som oss hälst sijnes, och fördenskuld belefwat, att hwilken aff oss begge then andre effter lefwer skall föruthan alt bijte, sigh till besittning och uppehälle i lijfstijden beholla Rijninge och Utringe, med des underliggande ägor och inkomster.

4. Hwadh wåre gårdar och hemman å landet anbelagnar wele wij att ther medh effter wår dödelige afgång sålunda hollas skall, att wår dotter som älst är af wåre barn; den der tillijke medh sin k. man. altijdh hafwa warit oss lijdige och tienstachtige, skal beholla på sin andeel Rijninge och Ålekistan medh des lägenheet." Cf. *Red. Kol. Akter,* 266, fol. 170, *K. A.; Sandb. saml.,* F. F. 11572, *K. A.; Supl.* by Elizabeth Lindeström, (presented) Oct. 12, 1666; Letters in Biogr., L., *R. A.;* Cf. Sondén, *Med. fr. Sven. riks.,* XXII (1899), 137, 178; Sondén, *Oxenstiernas brefv., Med. fr. Sv. riks,* n.f. ser. a. v. s., 149; J. A. Almquist, *Bergskol.,* 1637–1857, p. 245; Anrep, *Ättart.,* II, 772.

[14] who lived to a mature age ("the oldest of . . . [the] children").

[15] On his shield now hanging in the church at Bro it is stated that he was born May 18, 1632. See plate facing p. XXXIII, below.

[16] See Anderson, *Uppsala Universitets Matrikel,* II, 113. The name of his brother Johan is also found under this entry, thus: *Johannes Martini Stockholmensis.*

support two sons at the University) he discontinued his studies and was employed in the College of Mines for two years, as a clerk.[16a] Later he returned to Upsala and studied history and geography and specialized in mathematics and "the art of fortification."[17]

During his vacation in the late summer of 1653, the preparations for the tenth expedition to New Sweden "filled Stockholm with its din." The call of the wild was stronger than his desire to complete his studies and, with the consent of his parents, he applied for permission to accompany the expedition "to see the world and gain experience." The Commercial College, at this time directing the preparations of the Delaware expeditions, readily granted his request; but he went without a salary and was assigned to no definite position. In order that he might find employment, however, and not be stranded, when he arrived in the Colony, he requested a recommendation from the Commercial College to Governor Printz.

The following letter was accordingly given to him: "As the bearer, noble and well-born Pär Mårtensson Lindeström politely has requested a recommendation from us to the Sir Governor, since he has resolved, with the permission of his parents, to proceed to New Sweden with the departing Government ship for further experience and, as he has stated to us that he has applied himself industriously to mathematical studies and

[16a] *Cammar Skrifware i Kongl. Bergz Collegio.* Lindeström to the College of War, about May 28, 1658.

[17] *"Mijne K. föräldrar, till att lära det Mathematiske Studium, een stoor bekostnadh på mig anwändt hafwer."* Lindeström, March 19, 1657.

hence presumably will be found capable of being used in the service of H[er] R[oyal] M[aje]st[y] and the Company,[18] therefore [the Commercial College desires] that the Sir Governor on this our request and recommendation will make an effort[19] to provide s[ai]d Lindeström with one thing and another and direct and encourage[20] him [to lead] a good and moral [life], always giving him something to do, so that he may keep himself from idleness;[21] and hence, in order that he may observe that our letter of recommendation has really been of service to him, [it is our desire] that the Sir Governor shall[22] employ him in the service which may be useful to the colony and suit his qualifications and personality. Such good intention and benevolence on the part of the Sir Governor toward the aforesaid Lindeström we shall always keep in special remembrance, and [we] commend the Sir Governor herewith to the gracious protection of God, the Most High.''[23]

Lindeström had free passage to the colony with officer's rank, but, as intimated above, he was not placed on the budget and no definite office was assigned to him. He was a useful man, however, on account of his linguistic ability and, even on the outward journey, he was employed in different ways, as secretary and translator and in parleys with foreign officers.[24]

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[18] The New Sweden Company.

[19] *låta sig angeläget wara,* cause himself to be concerned.

[20] *stijrckia (styrka)* really means to strengthen.

[21] *ledighet* really means leisure.

[22] *Ville Hcr Gouverneuren. Ville* is here hortatory subjunctive.

[23] The letter is signed by Erich Oxenstierna Axellsson, Christer Bonde, Marten Augustinisson Leijonsköldh and Peter Julius Coijet.

[24] See below, Chapt. I.

In the beginning of October, 1653, he went on board the *Öhrn* at Stockholm and on the 8th the ship left the harbor. After stopping at several places on the way, the vessel arrived in Gothenburg, November 8th. His journey across the ocean is described in Chapter I, below.

He was apparently given oral instructions and requested to keep a journal or diary and to send a report to the Commercial College about the voyage to New Sweden. It also appears that he was supposed to aid in the fortifications of the colony and the mapping of the River, but he was not given positive directions in these matters.

Shortly after his arrival in the Colony he was confined to bed twice "by the violent malady which raged so terribly among the people." When restored to health he was kept "busy with the law suits," refitting the ship for its return voyage, mapping the country and a dozen other things, all of which fell upon him, "as there was no one else who could do these matters." Commissioner Rising found him a capable and efficient man and, as a consequence, placed him on the pay roll of the Company in the beginning of July, 1654, with the title of Engineer and Clerk of Court.[25]

When the ship was ready for its return journey, he was able to send a map of Fort Christina and the adjoining land. He tells us that the map was slightly defective in its colors. He had raised "the flats on the side like firm land, by [representing them] green, when [they] should be sunk.

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[25] *"och effter iagh nu i thesse dagar på Staaten opförder är för twenne tienster n:n Ingengeur och Canslist."* Letter of Lindeström, July 8, 1654, N. S, I., *R.A.;* cf. p. 69, below.

Otherwise the map is correctly drawn."[26] This interesting map is now preserved in splendid condition in the Royal Archives at Stockholm. A section of it was reproduced in the original colors, as frontispiece to the first volume of the *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*.[27]

Lindestrom also sent a letter to Eric Oxenstierna, giving an outline of the voyage and a short report of his work. Besides, he also transmitted to the Commercial College a full account of his trip, — probably a copy or an extract of the journal which is printed in Chapters I, II and III, below.[28]

After the departure of the *Ohrn*, Lindeström's first and foremost duty was to help in organizing the defence of the colony against foreign attack. Fort Trinity was practically rebuilt, while Fort Christina and the various block houses in New Sweden were improved and strengthened.[29]

When this had been done to the satisfaction of the Council, his energies were employed in a labor that was apparently much to his liking and that suited his inclination and desire. He was directed to travel by boat and on horseback to explore the situation of New Sweden, make maps and sketches and work out a complete report.

He made numerous soundings of the Delaware Channel and prepared a chart of the River and Bay with minute sailing directions. He apparently visited the mouth of every creek which emptied into the Delaware from the Cape to the

[26] Letter to Eric Oxenstierna, July 9, 1654, N. S., L., *R. A.*
[27] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, Frontispiece.
[28] Cf. note 26 above.
[29] See Rising's *Journal, 1653–56*.

Falls and ascertained their Indian names. In many cases, he ascended the streams for some distance and took notice of waterfalls and the possibilities of navigation. He examined the shores of the river carefully and indicated the nature of the banks and the possibilities of landing, thus pointing out favorable places for future colonization and for the erection of towns, where harbors and trading posts could be established with least expense. He examined the soil along the river, described the land and gave a minute account of the soil and its suitability for agriculture and various kinds of grain. He also noted the healthfulness of the various districts and indicated where settlements could be made without danger of fevers and infectious diseases.

On these expeditions into the interior and along the River, Lindeström found excellent opportunity for studying the life and customs of the natives. He assembled a vast material—some of which was later presented in his *Geographia*—and it is quite likely that he made a considerable ethnographic collection, which, however, was lost in the North Sea and on his journey overland from Holland.

Lindeström took an active part in the defence of New Sweden, but his account of the "war" is somewhat romantic and the story of his "services to the Fatherland against the Hollanders" is slightly colored."[30]

After the overthrow of New Sweden, Lindeström left the Colony with the other officers. Following

[30] See notes to Chapt. XXIX, below.

a short delay in New Amsterdam, his vessel, the *Bern,* went to sea on October 23d.[31] The voyage was fast for those days and without incident, but in the Channel an unfortunate accident overtook him. His books, instruments and "many other splendid things" were lost, through "the rude hands of the sailors."[32] On December 7th, six weeks after leaving the American shores, the *Bern* cast anchor at Plymouth and "lay in the harbor called Western Comfort." While there, he "visited the castle and fortress of Draakfort, together with eleven of the strong fortresses which were situated on the islands and on each side of the river or inlet of Plymouth."[33] He was also present in the village of Swansea at the celebration in honor of the English and French peace treaty. About the middle of December, the vessel set sail for Holland, where Lindeström landed on January 3, 1656. He proceeded overland by way of Haarlem and Amsterdam to The Hague.

It would seem that he had had enough of voyages and adventures and that he would be desirous of returning home. But his was a different temperament. "As I was now in foreign parts," he writes, "I determined to go home from Holland over land and travel crosswise, everywhere and all around to visit the most beautiful and best known places, as well as the principal and strongest fortified cities in Holland, Germany and Denmark. I therefore went to the Resident, Mr. Harald Apelbohm, to ask and apply for a draft for the said journey;

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[31] Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 614 ff.
[32] See pp. 90–1, below.
[33] Cf. p. 39, below.

and I obtained a letter of credit on a rich merchant in Amsterdam, Mr. Abraham Donckers."

Through this letter of credit he procured such clothes and equipment as he thought necessary for a Swedish nobleman.[34] He was in high spirits and we cannot help thinking that he possibly "showed off" somewhat beyond his means, and made the impression that he was "a returning West Indian traveller laden with treasures." At any rate he soon fell victim to a foul robbery. But he obtained full satisfaction through his energy and resourcefulness, and apparently carried out his original design.

It seems he returned to Stockholm in the beginning of 1657. The authorities were eager to hear his story of New Sweden and he was called to appear before the Commercial College to present his report. He gave a lengthy oral account of his experiences and "demonstrated his maps and sketches." Later he transmitted a written relation and description "of the Land of New Sweden," which differs but slightly from one of the chapters later incorporated into his *Geographia,* showing that his notes were full and detailed and but little had been left to memory. The Councillors were much impressed by his narrative and he was strongly urged not to let such interesting knowledge die with him, but publish it in book form. However, he had no opportunity to write

[34] He was dressed in a "beautifully embroidered scarlet coat," "red scarlet trimmed trousers with gold and silver decorations," and "a beaver hat with red, green, and white plumes." Cf. p. 96 ff. The account of his misfortune is, perhaps, somewhat romantic.

books at this time. His old father was retiring from office and he had to look for a job.

Through General Warnskiöld he applied for a post in the engineering corps of the army, but there was no vacancy, and weeks passed by without a word from the authorities about his appointment. Finally he became impatient of the long delay and wrote direct to the College of War on March 19th "for a suitable position in the military and infantry,"[35] "as," said he, "all my ambition consists in this, not to squander the years of my youth uselessly, but employ them in the service of His Royal Majesty and the Fatherland."

Three weeks later, he was notified of an opening. The war with Denmark was on and an attack was expected from Norway. General Warnskiöld had elaborated a plan of defence, which called for the erection of a new fortress at Anders Island. Lindeström was appointed to superintend this work, his commission "to be Sergeant[36] on the fortification staff here in Sweden" being signed on April 8, 1657.[37] On the same day the College issued an "Instruction according to which the Sergeant, noble and well-born Peter Lindeström, is to conduct and regulate himself at the building of the fort at Anders Island, in Jämptlandh."[38]

He was to proceed without delay to his place of operation at Andersö Fort and conduct the work according to the plans of the General Quartermaster; he was to see to it "that each and every

[35] Lindeström to the College of War, March 19, 1657.

[36] *Conducteuren.* In articles 2 and 7 of the *Instruction* Lindeström is called *Ingeneur.*

[37] See *Krigsk. prot.*, April 8, 9, 1657, *R. A.*

[38] Jemtland, a province in Sweden.

one of the officers and their soldiers'' followed their instructions; he was to muster the soldiers and no one was to be permitted to absent himself from the labor on the fort, except with the consent of the Sergeant, ''so that he may know where and for what work they were used;'' he was to watch over the expenses and arrange the service in the most profitable way; and finally he was to correspond regularly and report progress to the General Quartermaster.

On the next day the College requested the Exchequer to supply travelling expenses for Lindeström. Speed was imperative and he was enjoined to depart immediately on account ''of the urgent necessity of building the fort.''

He seems to have proceeded to his post without delay, and he was lodged ''in the house and kitchen which Engineer Clarman had built there.'' He evidently pushed the work on the new fortress with energy and sent reports of his progress to General Warnskiöld ''nearly every post day.''[39]

About the end of May orders were received from the Commandant to transfer ''the people to Frösiö for the repairing of the fort there.'' On June 1st, Lindeström sent away the first contingent and on June 22d, the withdrawal was complete ''with all the people who remained of the company together with the materials and other [things] which ought to follow.''

From June 22d to July 3d, he directed the operation at Frösiö. On the latter date systematic work

[39] He seems to have kept on good terms with Capt. Anders Harder, indicating that he performed his duties with ability and care.

on the fortifications was suspended "temporarily" on account "of the hostility between the Danes and us [Swedes]."

He wrote for money and made frequent requests for instructions, but he received neither answers nor aid. Finally, as "he had not received the slightest part of his pay for his sustenance since his arrival," and, "as the Danes were daily expected in which case the forts would be invested, and he would not be able to sustain himself, but rather get into great embarrassment," he removed to Gefleborg to await developments. From there he again wrote to the College of War on July 17, with a postscript on the following day.[40]

Finally he was ordered to return to Stockholm, but not even traveling expenses were provided for him. He managed to make his way back to the Capital, however, and presented his case in person. On August 7, 1657, the College finally "allowed him 60 *D.* s.m. from the fortification fund, as he had made the long journey at his own expense."[41]

About this time he obtained some commission, the nature of which is not clear, "and followed the army in Skåne and Norrwägen,[42] "while the Danish war continued, which is perfectly well provable." But in the late spring of 1658 he was again in Stockholm, without a position and without means. Towards the end of May he presented a supplication with enclosures to the College of War.

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[40] Lindeström to the College of War, July 17, *Postscriptum*, July 18, 1657, *Krigskol. brefbok, Ink. handl., R. A.*

[41] Oluff Michellsson, Recom. for Lindeström, July 3, 1657, N. S., *R. A.; Krigsk.* to *Kammark.* for Lindeström, Aug. 7, 1657, *Krigsr., R. A.*

[42] Norway.

He reviewed briefly his record of service for the Fatherland, complained bitterly that "to date" he had not received the least part of his stipulated pay and implored the College to give him a position in the engineering corps, according to promise.[43] There was more waiting and more disappointments, but he was eventually assigned to a new post and in the spring of 1659 we find him at Dalarö Fort.[43a]

Wanderlust was perhaps one of his gravest failings; but conditions and circumstances tended to foster and intensify an inborn proclivity to shiftlessness. During his labors in the Colony and after his return to Sweden, he had certainly worked hard and faithfully, but in spite of this he never was paid regularly by the government and was left more or less to shift for himself. The treasury of the Kingdom was drained by the heavy military expenses and, as Lindeström was not on the regular budget, due to the fact that there was no vacancy there, no means were available for him out of "the surplus funds," as there never were any surplus funds.

Under the circumstances he grew careless and shirked his duties to such an extent that Jon Pärsson found it necessary to report to Gustav Oxenstierna that the work at Delarö Fort progressed slowly, on account of "the neglect, de-

[43] *Suppl.* of Lindeström to the Coll. of War, accompanied by certified copies of several documents. "Presented May 28th, 1658." N. S., I, *R. A.*

[43a] In April, 1659, he was given a *Memorial*, and on the 13th Palmgren, of the College of War, wrote that *Conducteuren wälb. Petter Lindeström är nu resefärdig uth till Skärgården.* See Photostat copies of *Documents Concerning Lindeström*, Files of Swedish Colonial Society, Hist. Society Building, Philadelphia.

bauchery and drunkenness of Engineer Lindeström." On May 14, 1659, Oxenstierna sent a sharp letter, saying that facts had been transmitted, "which we had not even thought or supposed possible about you." He was warned to change his ways, or a certain and swift punishment would follow, and to push the work on the fort.[44]

The warning evidently had effect, for in May, 1661, he was promoted. About this time he went abroad to seek his fortunes in foreign service and could have obtained a post in "General Rylio's Army," if his experience as an engineer had been of longer duration.

In about a year he returned to Sweden and was apparently employed on some duty. During part of 1662, he lived with a yeoman, Jöns Giermunsson, at Stockholm, and when he left the city, perhaps in the beginning of 1663, he gave his host a draft for 115.22 *D.* s.m. Later in the year he was at Marstrand, for he gave two drafts to a citizen there. In January, 1666, he applied to the College of War for recommendations, as he desired to serve under Gustav Wrangel "on German soil."[44a]

After more adventures and more troubles he finally married and settled down to a quiet life at Brosäter on Värmlandsnäs. It would seem that his troubles were now at an end. But about 1679 he became afflicted with a painful suffering in all his limbs, and from 1683 he was confined con-

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[44] See *Krigsk. prot.*, May 14, 1659, *R. A.*

[44a] See Giermundson Suppl., March 3, 1662; Giermundson to the King, no date, but in 1662; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 683.

2. Interior of the Church at Bro, where Lindeström worshiped. His shield hangs between the two windows to the right. See plate 3, facing p. XXXIII.

tinually to his bed for eight years. He "was obliged to expend and disburse a considerable part of his small income for doctors and medicine." He was always in debt, borrowing here, repaying there, as means were forthcoming, and his revenues from his estates were generally assigned, long before they were due, to cover some draft or some sums of money.[44b]

To cap his misfortunes, he was caught in the so-called *Reduction*. Through the intercession of his brother-in-law, Alderman of Värmland, later "Vice President of Stockholm," the *Reduction* was deferred, and a Royal confirmation of the old grant was given in 1682. But the following year a "letter from His Royal Majesty was read in all the pulpits concerning the Reduction" and some time later it appears that the two old estates, which he had held jointly with his brother Johan, were confiscated by the Crown. The Governor of Värmland, however, was ordered by Royal letter to compensate Lindeström with other estates.[44c]

Thus he managed to drag out a miserable existence. The means he expended for medicine and doctors "were wasted to no purpose" and shortly before his death he wrote: "I am still in the same condition as formerly." He "found some relief from a kind of salve called *Balsam Philosoforum,*" which he applied to his joints. It was prepared by Dr. Lader of Stockholm and sold "in small bottles." But this relief must have been only temporary and probably more imaginary than real, perhaps acting somewhat like the countless

[44b] See Lindeström's letters and receipts, N. S. I, *R. A.*
[44c] See *Riksreg.*, 1690, fol. 702.

counter-irritants, the "certain cures for rheumatism," etc., on our market today.[45]

But in all this suffering and in spite of poverty and privation, one great hope animated his mind, vigorous to the end, and one grand ambition filled his soul with a joy that never grew cold and a vision that never faded, "as long as life lasted,"—the work on his *Geographia.*

His illness came almost as a relief.[46] His enforced quietness gave him opportunity to arrange his copious notes and write the book by which he will be long remembered. It is difficult to see how he managed to complete the volume. At times he was unable to write, and the letters preserved to us from his later years are not in his own hand, though signed by him. But "he never failed," says his widow, "to work on the *Geographia,* when pain gave him some relief and rest." On December 21, 1691, he penned the last words to his book and "a few days later," about Christmas of this year, he passed away, at the age of 59.[47]

His character was not without blemishes, but his kindly humor, deep idealism and intense patriotism make us like him in spite of his faults. His *Geographia* is his monument and it is pleasant to contemplate that his wish of giving this book to the world has at last been realized.

His widow was left in such destitute circumstances that she was unable to bury the earthly re-

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[45] See, Letters from Lindeström to his brother Johan L. and to Håkan Fagerstierna, 1683, 1684, 1686, etc., also letters from Johan Lindeström to Per L., *Biogr.*, L., *R. A.*

[46] See pp. 7–8.

[47] See pp. 8, 16, below; Margreta Roos to the King and the Crown Prince, N. S., I, *R. A.*

3. Lindeström's shield, with this inscription: *Kungl. Maijts Trotjenare och Ingenieur den Ädle Wälborne Herrn* Hr. Pehr Lindeström till *Rynninge och Knöpla Lund född den 18 Maij 1632 Död på dess Sätesgård Brosätter den 20 December 1691.* [His] Roy[al] Maj[es]ty's Faithful Servant and Engineer, the Noble and Well-born Sir, Sr. Pehr Lindeström of Rynnige and Knöplalund, born May 18, 1632, died on his estate Brosätter, December 20, 1691.

mains of her husband. She sent the *Geographia* to Crown-Prince Karl, Lindeström's dying wish, and wrote to the King for aid in the burial expenses. She also requested that the revenue of the two estates which her husband had enjoyed might be assigned to her for life. But her case drifted and not till the spring of 1693 was anything done about it. On May 18th of that year, 200 *D.* s.m. were ordered for her "for aid."[48]

* * *

The *Geographia* is an interesting document from our Colonial period and assures Lindeström a permanent place among those early writers who have helped to preserve the history of our beginnings and "the tragic tale of the red man."

It is not always reliable, in this respect sharing the failings of other and similar treatises of the age. His account of "the West Indian voyage" contains passages partly based on fancy, but his observance of the strict laws of truth was not more irregular than that of contemporary writers of travels and his narrative is certainly not more fabulous than many of the adventure books of our own day, perpetrated as true stories.[49]

The tale of the sirens and the mermaids is typical. In judging such things we must remember that mermaids, dragons, sea-serpents, and other monsters were not looked upon as creatures of the imagination, but as living beings of flesh and

[48] Margreta Roos to the King and to the Crown Prince, N. S., I., *R. A.* Document in N. S., I., *R. A.* about M. Roos. "Afgår bref till Statsc. att dhe låte henne härföre bekom[ma] 200 *D.* s. m. St. den 18 May, 1693."

[49] Such books as *Gods, Beasts and Men* and many others.

blood. Their reality was taken for granted; they were something every seaman had encountered; something every seaman could vouch for.

Many early travelers were not content with a mere description of such apparitions; they often supplemented their accounts with pictures of mermaids, sea-monsters and dragons to impart more vividness to the undoubted reality of their existence.[50] We must not, therefore, class these narratives as mere inventions. They had a basis of truth in them to this extent that some unexplained phenomena or some weird creature of the sea was transformed into mythological characters of fantastic shapes by minds steeped in superstition, feeling themselves surrounded by unseen forces of the spirit world and momentarily expecting hobgoblins and what not to throw off their veil and monsters of evil to raise their heads out of the treacherous deep, especially in those far-off waters which ships seldom sailed. The head of a sea-cow, seen at a respectful distance among floating weeds, would be a sufficient and true evidence of the existence of mermaids, with long golden hair, to a man "who knew such things existed," although these "charming maidens rarely appeared at close quarters," except to the chosen few.

In this respect, Lindeström was a child of his time, no better, no worse than the rest. To his young and imaginative mind, the temporary delirium that overtook some of the emigrants,

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[50] We must not forget that less than half a century ago, the *Flying Dutchman*, the *Phantom Ship* and the *Sea-Serpent* were as real to sea-faring men as the Lighthouse of Cape Henlopen, or the Crags of Gibraltar.

making them jump into the ocean, had an external cause—the mermaids were to blame[51]—and when he put his notes into final form over thirty years later, the events were seen "like enchanted memories of childhood," for distance lends enchantment to the view, and the result was the narrative in Chapter I, below, an account which Lindeström himself believed. The same can be said of his flying fish that could go ten miles at a stretch, and the pie-baker of Calais, who waxed prosperous by preparing delicious pies of human flesh.[52] These stories were partly based on "tales of sea-faring men" and adopted as gospel truth. The faculty of criticism is of modern development and the inadequacy of its training, even among educated men, has been quite apparent the last few years. We should be rather lenient with these old writers —people who live in glass houses should throw no stones. Many of the stories some of us believed during the late war were less likely ever to have happened than the pie tragedies of Calais, or the exploits of the mermaids "in the Western Ocean."

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[51] See pp. 65–6. They appear in practically all literatures. I found a kind of mermaid story in Central West Africa, undoubtedly adopted from the early Portuguese, and the American Indians have their woman-fish.

The myth took such hold on the imagination of the Middle Ages and later, that mermaids were used in the coat of arms of certain families, even in England, and there are "well authenticated instances," where "mermaids were captured and baptized," and one actually became a saint.

The legends about the vast areas of floating seaweed (the so-called Sargasso Sea) spread through scientific and popular literature from the time of Columbus to the present day are hardly less fantastic than the stories of Lindeström. The Norwegian Department of Fisheries only thirteen or fourteen years ago disposed of the Sargasso fiction.

[52] See pp. 29–32, 63, below.

In his dedication and preface, Lindeström expresses several general theories that are of interest in determining his philosophy and mental development. His views on evolution and the development of man were influenced by the Biblical story, but, although he maintains that man first "covered his shame with leaves," he does not repeat the story of the Fall and states that man later prepared skins for his clothes. He thought that all races were in the beginning cannibals, and promiscuous in their sexual relations. Development and progress were the result of necessity—man was driven to advance from one stage to another by his struggle for existence—and all races progressed from savagery to civilization through similar means and by similar methods.

He assumes the stability of the earth's surface, not knowing anything of the geological upheavals that have occurred throughout the ages, and he assigns practically all changes, whether topographic or otherwise, to the efforts of man.[53] We must not assume that his ideas represent the views of "the learned men of his country," for Lindeström, in his checkered career, had no opportunity to follow the developments of geography or the other sciences, nor to acquaint himself with the latest opinions of the scholars of his day.

Lindeström is remarkably accurate in the number of rivers, creeks and streams he indicates on his maps, emptying into the Delaware; but the locations, the size and the directions are only approximate and often quite faulty. At the Univer-

[53] See Dedication and Preface, below.

sity he studied mathematics as a specialty, which in those days included cartography with its helpmates, but whether he was thoroughly familiar with the subject and the projections and principles developed by Kremer (Mercator), Bienewitz and others of his and the preceding generations seems unlikely.[54] His maps, however, as we have them, are not a fair criterion either to his knowledge or his ability. The mapping of the Delaware basin is a gigantic task and one that could not be accomplished accurately in the short time at the disposal of Lindeström. When we remember that he was young and inexperienced and that the instruments and apparatus with which he worked were of the most primitive type, entirely inadequate, we must marvel that he did the work so well. The copy of his map published in the translation of Acrelius did not add to his reputation, as some names were misplaced, which led critics to believe that the original was at fault.

The literary qualities of the *Geographia* are varying. The sentence structure is often cumbersome, sometimes loose and now and then illogical. The grammar is bad in places, the word order is at times unhappy and the sense is not always clear; but the book on the whole is interesting, and many sections are vivid and full of life. The language is burdened with foreign words and phrases, but not more so than other treatises of a similar nature of the period.

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[54] For a short history of the science of cartography, see Abendroth, *Geodätisches Hand—und nachschlagebuch*, 7 ff., for the period of Lindeström, see 9 ff.; cf. Nordenskiöld, *Fac-simile-Atlas;* Graf, *Kartenkunde*, 99 ff.

The spelling of the period was influenced by German, Dutch, Danish and other languages and Lindeström is no exception to the rule, though, except for a few dialectic variations he is more regular in his orthography than some of the other writers of the time, and the *Geographia* follows the language of the Chancery[55] as faithfully as the majority of Swedish books written in the seventeenth century, often more so.[56]

Of the consonants,[57] the stops (surds and sonants), the aspirate *h* and the semi-consonants *i, j* and *u* (*v, w*)[58] show most irregularity in Lindeström, when compared to modern Swedish. The Swedish *d sound* is usually represented by *d,* as in the modern language, except in the pronouns and the particles, where *d* and *th* (in some cases *t*) are used indiscriminately, often in the same sentence, *du, tu, den, then* (that, or the).[59] In some cases the *d* is silent or practically so, especially before *s* and *t.*[60]

The *k sound* is written in several ways. In purely Swedish words, or in words fully Swedezised, the sound is represented in Lindeström by:

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[55] Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 24–5; Hernlund, *Förslag och åtg. till sv. skriftsp. regl.*

[56] For a popular account of the Swedish language of the period, see Ljungstedt, *Modersm., hist.,* 150 ff.

[57] For the early periods, showing the derivation of these sounds, cf. Noreen, *Altschw, Gram.,* 38; Kock, *Stu. ö. fornsv. ljudl.,* I, 111 ff.

[58] For a general discussion of the sound-values in Swedish, cf. Noren, *Vårt språk,* I, 406 ff.; especially the table on pp. 496–7. For Swedish dialects, see *ibid.,* 88 ff. See also Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 24–5.

[59] *tu, du, dig, tigh, det, thet, dee, the, thesse, desse, theras, denna, thenna, them, dem.*

[60] *sidst, sidstone,* etc.; *godt* (as in modern Swedish).

In modern Swedish we find the same phenomenon in such words as *blandning* (pronounced *blanning*), *utländing (utlänning),* etc.

1. *k*, the most common, thus *kan, kaar, komma.*
2. *ch*, especially before *t*, thus, *prächtig* (splendid); slächt (relationship).[61]
3. *q* before the semi-consonant *u*, thus *quinnor-* (women), *quarn* (mill).

In foreign words, the sound is indicated by:

1. *ch*, as in *Chistendom* (Christianity), *chrona* (crown), etc.
2. *c*, as in *clostret* (the cloister), *crusefix, custerne* (the coasts) etc.
3. *q* before[62] *u* in Indian and other foreign words, as *Quincorening, Wickquacoing*, etc.[63]

B, f, and *p* are sometimes interchanged for the same sound, due, I take it, not so much to a variation in pronunciation, as to the uncertainty of the orthography of Lindeström, thus, *näfste* and *näpste* (reprimand), *fampn*, and *fambn* (fathom), etc. In most cases, however, these letters are employed as today, with practically the same sound values.

In a great many cases, *b* and *p* are used where they have dropped out today, especially after *m*, thus, *ägendomb, benämbd; nampn, sampt*[64], etc.

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[61] *jachten* (yacht), *wachtmästare* (sergeant. Cf. German *Wachtmeister*), *frucht* (fruit), etc., but we also find *techen* (sign), *doch* (yet. Cf. German *doch*). Authorities are not certain whether *ch* in some instances actually had a different sound value from *k* (at times, due to German influence), but Kock takes the stand that it really represented a different sound from the *k*. See Koch, *Stu. ö. fornsv. ljudl.*, I, 77 ff., especially 109–11. That Lindeström, at least in some cases, used *ch* for a sound that approached the German *ch* seems certain from his spelling of Indian words.

[62] Cf. Kock, *Stu. ö. fornsv. ljudl.*, I, 28, ff.

[63] In a few instances *q* stands for *kw*, and *k* not followed by *u (w)*.

[64] This orthography persisted in some cases far into the 19th century.

H is silent in many cases, especially finally[65] after *d* and *g*, thus, *medh, landh, tingh, hertigh,* etc. This *h* often drops out before a vowel and in the plural, thus *konungh, konungen; handh, händerne,* etc., though there is no uniformity. *H* is often used, as in German, to lengthen a preceding vowel thus, *åhr, wahra, nähra,* etc.[66]

The Swedish *j* and *v sounds* are represented somewhat irregularly. *J*[67] is represented by *i* initially and medially before vowels (sometimes by *j* initially before vowels, also in the combination *ti, tj*), thus, *iagh, jordh, tiocke* and *tjocke,* in the same sentence, and finally after vowels, *ej* (also *eij*).

The labio-dental *v* is represented initially by *w* sometimes by *u* (especially after *q*) and by *v* in Swedish words,[68] thus, *wargh, wall,* etc. Finally and initially before consonants it is represented by -f (-ff), thus *liff, gif,* etc.

Initially between vowels, it is reproduced by *-fw-* (*-ffw-*) *öffwer, gifwen, haffwet,*[69] etc.

Long consonants are usually doubled between vowels, *Hollendare, wille,* etc., sometimes when final, but as a rule, not before consonants, except

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[65] Initially before *w* in pronouns and before *i* (*j*) in a few other words as, *hwarken, hwilke, hiordh (hjord),* etc. This use corresponds to the modern Swedish orthography, before the last spelling reform.

[66] Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 24.

[67] English *y* as in year, German *j* in Jahr.

[68] For a description of the Swedish *w* and *v* sounds, see Noreen, *Vårt språk,* I, 411–12, 415–16; cf. Kock, *Stud. o. fornsv. ljudl.,* I, 1 ff. Kock is of the opinion that in some cases *v* and *u* represented a somewhat different sound from *w* (labio-dental and labio-labial), see *ibid.,* 18 ff., 27 ff.; but this does not seem to be the case in Lindeström.

[69] The s sound in Lindeström is represented by *s* and finally (also initially in compound words) by *z, Krygztågningar,* etc.

in compound words, and long *k* is always written *ck*, never *kk*, thus, *uptänder, folck, hwilcken, Korssholm*, etc.

The vowel system is also somewhat irregular and a few dialectic peculiarities occur, thus *sölffwer* and *silfwer* (silver).

The *i sound* is represented initially by *i, inn*, medially by *i* and *ij*,[70] *tijdh, wijdh, migh, sigh*, etc.; finally it is generally represented by *j*, thus *uthj*.

E is often omitted before *l, n, r*, thus, *wattn* (*vatten*).[71] Long vowels are usually doubled, except the umlauted ones of prepositions in distinction to these vowels in other words, thus *dee, steenig, haar, daalar, trää, åå* (river), but *å* (prep. on) both long *å, på* (prep. on), *gåå* (to go), etc.[71a]

Long *u* is often written *w, åkerbrwk*, but *landhbruuk* is also found. The plurals are somewhat irregular,[72] the Danish *-er* often varying with the Swedish *-ar*, while *-or* is sometimes found where modern Swedish takes *-ar*, thus *boninger, åer, öyor*.[73]

The verbal forms show considerable regularity, but certain verbs have *i* before *a*, thus *liggia* (*ligga*), *dängia* (*dänga*), *sittia* (*sitta*) *betänkiande*, etc.

Lindeström is over fond of the relative and

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[70] The pronunciation of *ij* was perhaps more rounded than that of *i* of today, approaching, or midway between *i* and German *ü* or Swedish *y*.

[71] For the development of these vowels, cf. Ljungstedt, *Modersm. hist.*, 112–3.

[71a] *ö*, sometimes *oe*, is rarely doubled, when long.

[72] In the plural the umlauted vowels are not doubled, *åå, åer*, (river, rivers). Cf. German Boot, Böte.

[73] *öyer* is also found (sing. *öö*, island, Mod. Swed. *ö, öar*).

uses it where a demonstrative, or a new sentence would be better.[74]

Sometimes he uses a present participle with the force of a relative clause, thus *den wilde nation der boende*.[75] He often repeats the personal pronoun after the subject[76] and he will now and then use a singular pronoun referring to a plural noun.[77]

In his use of prepositions, Lindeström differs in some particulars from Modern Swedish. *Af* sometimes means in and during;[78] *åth* often means at[79] and *öfwer* is used in the sense of with.[80] *Medh* (*med*) is usually inserted in the partitive genitive where it would often be omitted in modern Swedish.[81] Compound prepositions and adverbs, that today are written as one word, are separated by Lindeström.[82]

The old dative occurs in places[83] and *e* is often used as the ending of adjectives where *a* is required today. The ending *er* is often used in predicate adjectives, where it could not be employed today.[84] In some cases he uses an *i* (*e*)

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[74] *Den det, såssom den det, hwilke som;* cf. also the various foot-notes in the original, below.

[75] the wild nation living there.

[76] *denna konst hon,* etc.

[77] *daalar, . . . utaf hwilken (i.e. hwilka).*

[78] *af förrige tider,* in former times, Mod. Swed. would be *i (uti), under,* in, during. Mod. Swed. *af. (av),* means of.

ryker af mays plantagier, rich in corn plantations. Mod. Swed. would be *rik på.*

[79] *kastade . . . åth migh* (Mod. Swed. *kastade på mig*), threw at me.

[80] *medhynckan öfwer migh,* sympathy with me.

[81] *myckenheet medh munckar; een hoop medh nunnor,* etc.

[82] *upp åth; här effter, här efter åth, hwar om, här på, lika som,* but we also find these written as one word in a few cases, thus *breedewydh.*

[83] *lydno, högom, mächtigom.*

[84] *Ryker på,* etc. Adjectives are sometimes used as adverbs, *tala wänligh, kläda sigh zierligh,* etc., etc

before the final *t* of adverbs.[85] He also uses the enclitic definite article *-en* with proper names, a not uncommon practice of the times.[86] He often uses a singular verb when the subject is plural and vice versa, sometimes we find a singular and a plural verb in the same sentence referring to the same subject.[87]

The genitive is here and there used in a way in which we could not employ it today,[88] and the present participle is often used as a past participle.[89]

Lindeström's vocabulary, as intimated above, is rich in foreign words, while some of his Swedish terms have special meanings, often influenced by German and Dutch.[90]

The manuscript of the *Geographia* is in a beautiful state of preservation; it is bound in leather, stamped in gold, with a Royal Crown and the monogram of Prince Karl on the two covers, forming a handsome volume of 249 quarto pages,[90a] including text with a marginal paragraph rubric, followed by a full alphabet index.

The fac-simile pages give an idea of the appear-

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[85] *beswärligit*, etc.

[86] Rijsingen, etc. Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I,

[87] *så gåår the heelt nakne, som the födde äro.* They goes (!) completely naked, as they are born.

[88] *dens Helige andes.*

[89] *Wällbetänkiande swar.*

[90] *uptänder*, Mod. Swed. *upplyser; förfärdigat*, used by Lindeström about books in the sense of to compose, in Mod. Swed. the word means to construct, to make. There are other peculiarities in the *Geographia*, like *all allmogen*, etc., etc. Cf. also foot-notes in Swedish, below. *Desein, intent, liebhaber, noch, rivier, remarcable, navigabelt*, etc., are some of the foreign words often used. Cf. also footnotes, below.

[90a] Exclusive of the index and some blank pages.

ance of the text.[91] Foreign words (except prepositions, like in, and some German and Dutch terms) and certain headings of chapters at the beginnings of paragraphs and dates, are written with the so-called Latin script, corresponding to italics. The rest of the text is in the usual Swedish hand-writing of the Seventeenth Century.

There is a beautiful copy, bound, leather back, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, complete except for the index, which is missing. In the collection of the Society is also a translation of some chapters of the book, but it is poorly done.[92] A manuscript translation in French of a portion of the text is preserved in the American Philosophical Society. This was used by one or two early writers and gave rise to several inaccuracies and misstatements.

Thomas Campanius Holm drew extensively from the *Geographia* in his *Kort Beskrifning* and other writers have used it.

Last year, Dr. Jacobsson, of Lindköping, published the book as *Lindeströms Resa,* but with modernized spelling, some omissions and a partial rearrangement of the material. It is now translated and published complete for the first time.

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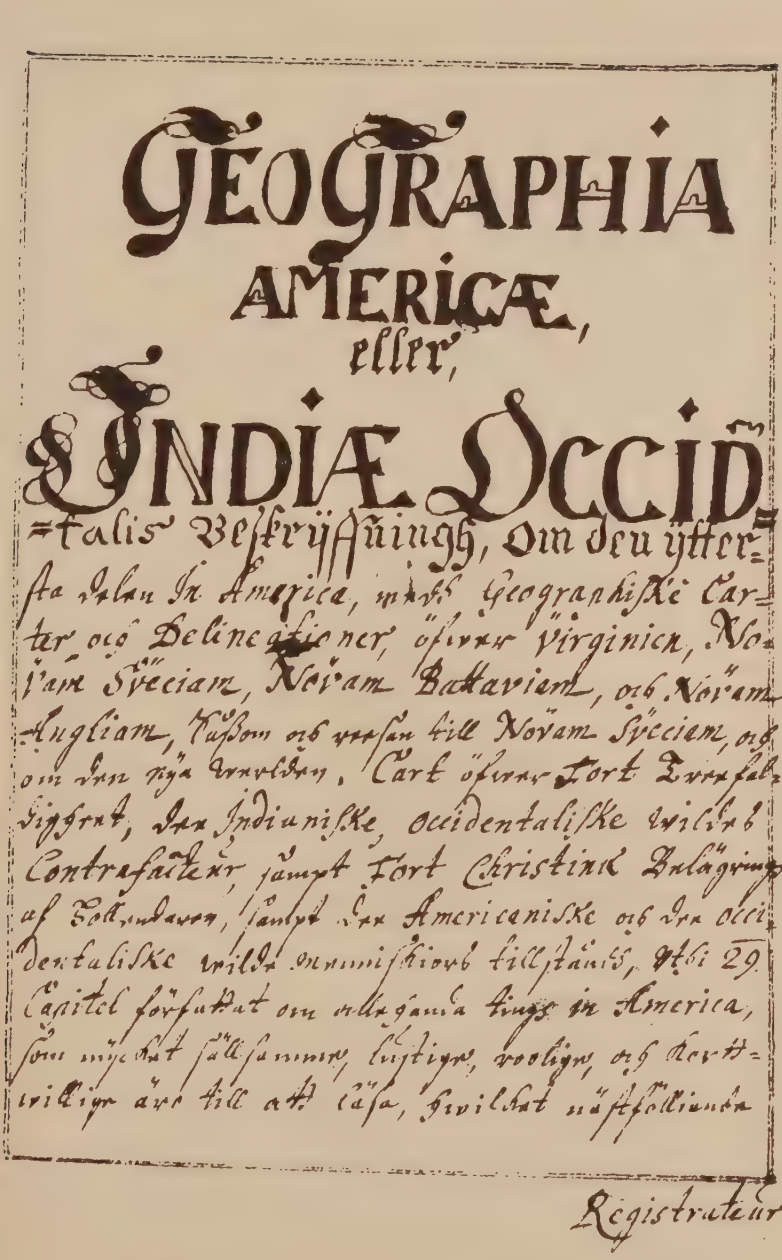
[91] See plates facing pp. 1, 18, 280.

[92] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 808.

NOTE. Photostat copies of most of the documents quoted above are preserved in the Files of the Swedish Colonial Society, Hist. Society Building, Philadelphia.



GEOGRAPHIA AMERICÆ,

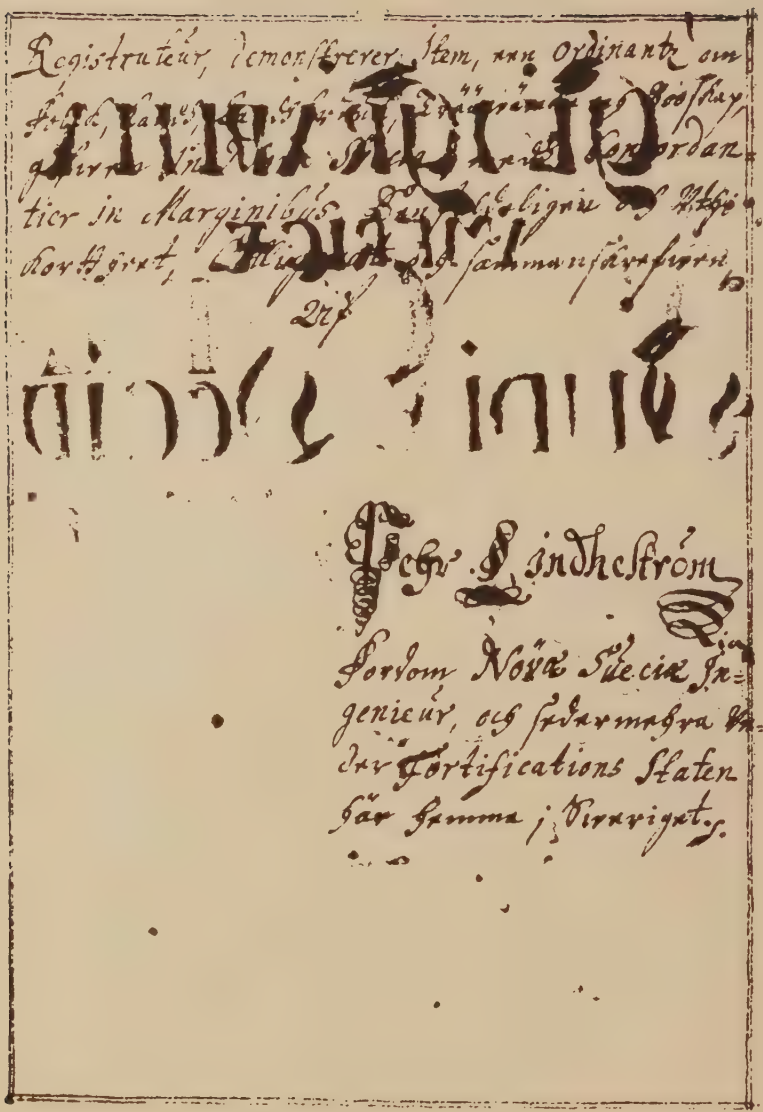
eller,

INDIÆ OCCID=

=talis Beskrÿffningh, om den ÿtter=
sta delen In America, medh Geographiske Car=
ter och Delineationer, öfwer Virginien, No=
vam Sveciam, Novam Battaviam, och Novam
Angliam, Kußom och reesan till Novam Sveciam, och
om den nÿa werlden. Cart öfwer Fort Treefal=
digheet, der Indianiske, occidentaliske wildes
Contrafacteur, sampt Fort Christina Belägrings
af Hollendaren, sampt der Americaniske och der occi=
dentaliske wilde menniskiors tillstånds, Uthi 29.
Capitel författat om allehanda tings in America,
som mycket sällsamme, lustige, roolige, och kortt=
willige äro till att läsa, hwilket nästfölliande

Registrateur

4. First page of the *Geographia* with most of the title. Original size.



5. SECOND PAGE OF THE *Geographia*, END OF TITLE (INK OF REVERSE SIDE SHOWING THROUGH). ORIGINAL SIZE.

GEOGRAPHIA AMERICÆ

OR

A Description of Indiæ Occidentalis;

Concerning the Remotest Part of America, with Geographical Maps and Delineations of Virginia, New Sweden, New Holland, New England, as well as the voyage to New Sweden and about the New World;

Map of Fort Trinity; Pictures of the Western Indian Savages, and the Siege of Fort Christina by the Hollanders;

Also the Conditions of the American and Western Savage People;

Composed in 29 Chapters, Concerning All Sorts of Things in America, Which are very Curious, Amusing, and Entertaining to Read, which the Following Table of Contents Demonstrates;

Also an Ordinance Concerning People, Land, Agriculture, Timber and Cattle, Proclaimed in New Sweden; with a Concordance in the Margin, and Simply and Briefly Collected and Compiled.

By

Pehr Lindhestrom,

Formerly Engineer of New Sweden and Afterward [Employed] in the Department of Fortification here at Home in Sweden.

TO HIS SERENE HIGHNESS, PRINCE AND LORD, SIR CHARLES,[1] HEREDITARY PRINCE OF THE SWEDES, GOTHS AND WENDS, GRAND DUKE OF FINLAND, DUKE[2] OF SKANIA, ESTONIA, LIVONIA, CARELIA, BREMEN, WERDEN, STETTIN, POMERANIA, CASSUBEN[3] AND WENDEN, PRINCE OF RÜGEN, LORD OF INGERMANLAND AND WISSMAR, AS ALSO PALSGRAVE AT THE RHINE IN BAVARIA, DUKE OF GÜLICH, CLEVE AND BERGEN,[4] PRINCE, ETC.

My most Gracious Lord, etc. Sincerely wishing Your Royal Highness the benign grace of the Most High God, the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the powerful comfort, co-operation and protection of the Holy Ghost, together with all desirable welfare of body and soul, with my very humble and faithful submission and obedience.

Your Royal Highness! I pray most humbly that Your Royal Highness may be pleased to allow

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[1] The Crown Prince in 1691, later Karl XII (Charles XII).

[2] *Stoorfurste (storfurste)*, grand-duke, arch-duke; *hertigh*, duke, prince of the royal blood.

[3] Cassuben (German *Kassuben*, sometimes *Kaschuben*, English usually Kashubes), a tribe of Wends, now said to number about 200,000, living along the Baltic "between Danzig and Lake Garden and inland as far as Konitz." In Swedish *Kassuben* referred to the country of the Kashubes, while the people were called *Kassuber*, hence "Hertig of Kassuben." The district was acquired by Sweden in 1648, and Swedish kings used the title, "Hertig of *Kassuben*" down to 1719. It was later used by the Kings of Prussia. The statement by E. H. Minns (in the *Enc. Brit.* (1911), XV, p. 693.) that the Kashubes "have no literature and no history," is not strictly correct. See the works by Florian Cenova; Pernin, *Wanderungen durch die Kassubei*, etc.

[4] Jülich, Cleve (Klev), Berg, German territories (princedoms).

me to add a short explanation to the title of this book, which I name and entitle a Geography of America or a Description of West India, and then present the principal reasons why this insignificant and simple, though well-intended work, is being dedicated and enscribed, in deepest humiliation, to your Royal Highness.

Thus all histories inform us how high and noble this science[5] *of geography is everywhere esteemed by learned and experienced men. Yes, histories, they are based on this science, nor can anyone without a geographical delineation*[6] *write a history properly and intelligently, such as is written and taught by wise and learned men.*[7]

Geography—it is a knowledge of the earth, which we mortal men by the grace of God occupy and inhabit, which[8] *[through] the lovers of this science is properly presented for the understanding of things that happen and have happened in former times. Yes, this science, it discloses and reveals to us the hidden mysteries of Holy Writ and clearly divulges the powers of wise nature, which have been concealed in various matters and things.*

This science does not only include countries, cities, waters, mountains and valleys, manners,

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[5] *Kånst (konst)*, art, here science.

[6] Maps and geographical descriptions.

[7] The professors at Uppsala, under whom Lindeström took his courses, were close students of geography as it was then understood and from them he imbibed his love of the subject. In those days the sciences were not differentiated as they are today. Philosophy included nearly everything, and such subdivisions as Geography included half a dozen or more subjects that are now treated as independent sciences.

[8] *Which*, refers to geography above.

customs, trade, governments over various kinds of people, [their] habits and dwellings, and animals, the nature and quality of trees, herbs[9] *and roots; but also other things on earth and in the sea, such as curious animals, minerals, and other useful and useless things, which are found on the earth and in the sea. Yes, pray, what may the emperors and kings formerly have risked and expended,*[10] *as well as those who live and reign in our own times, [to make this science known]; and how could they have been able to carry on such successful and remarkable wars in foreign and far distant countries, yes, [countries] situated in the remotest districts of India, compelled to journey over high mountains, deep waters and morasses, with their mighty armies, and sail across the seas, [unless they had known this science]; as we read about King Alexander, when he marched with his mighty armies from Macedonia into East India, also many other such military expeditions into remotely situated countries, as is demonstrated and taught us by all the chronicles and books of historical writers, who describe wars and military matters; for in whatever field it may be, the high and mighty potentates must have sufficient and accurate knowledge of such science of the earth, [as concerns] the width and breadth of the ocean with all its characteristics and situations, in case their highly important expeditions, designs and intentions are to proceed successfully and well.*

[9] *örter*, herbs, plants.

[10] *Kåsta (kosta)*, to cost, *Kåsta på*, to spend. Hence the meaning is probably: have risked and expended; unless Lindeström uses the word in the German figurative sense *(kosten)*, in which case it would mean have experienced and tried.

What does one suppose that the King of Spain must have ventured and expended, besides suffered in damages and expenses in fitting out ships [for sailing] from Spain to East India, before he had obtained knowledge through [the discovery] of the Meridian Line?[11] *What may the Romans have ventured and expended before the whole of Europe, a large part of Asia and Africa were known to them; and what may the kingdom of Sweden have ventured and expended before West India was known to the people, and enabled them to establish and bring New Sweden into being? And also what damage and expense it must have caused before the Eastern and Western Passages became known to the Indian navigators*[12] *and before they learned to figure out and calculate in what year the dangerous hurricane*[13] *would take place, when all the winds blow [from every direction] to a centre and form a whirl through which the ocean in a circle becomes open down to its very bottom. Yes, how many 1000 ships have plunged to the depths of the sea through it, before we knew [how] to guard against it; wherefore Indian navigators do not sail to India during the years, when they know that the hurricane or the sea-gulp might occur. Some also call this sea-gulp an* archan.[14] *This hurricane formerly occurred*

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[11] *Lineam Meridionalem.*

[12] Navigators to the East and West Indies.

[13] *Norcan (orkan)*, Typhoon. Lindeström speaks of these hurricanes or typhoons in the singular, which tends to almost personify them and to make the description more vivid.

[14] *Archan, arkan*, sea-gulp. The form *arkan* is not usual; the Dutch form is *orkaan*, and the Swedish, *orkan* (Italian, *uracano*). The word came into the Germanic Languages from Portuguese,

every fourth year in the Western Ocean, but now it occurs only every seventh and varies with time, according to which[15] *one can be regulated.*

The reasons, Your Royal Highness for [my] desiring to have this little and simple work, with the most humble submission, dedicated to the patronage and the celebrated name of Your Royal Highness are especially these two, viz:

First, because at the time when these my geographical drawings and descriptions about the remotest part of America, as well as about New Sweden, and the situation and condition of the country, were partly exhibited [in writing][16] *and partly demonstrated through oral relation by me, the highly esteemed Royal Government, together with other persons of lower rank, secular and clerical, to whom I may have communicated something [of this knowledge], persuaded, advised and solicited me that, since no information or knowledge was to be found in any cosmography or terrestrial globe about the farthest part of America, like that which they had learned from me, who had been there not long ago, and exactly observed such [things], I should not let such knowledge die with me, but let it be published, so that many lovers thereof could enjoy it to their satisfaction and pleasure; which, however, could not be accomplished formerly, on account of my arduous duties,*

Spanish (and probably Italian) writers, which is clear from the fact that both *furacanes*, *furicanes* (Portuguese) and *herycano*, *hurlecano* (Spanish), as well as *uracanes* (Italian), are met with in the accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries.

[15] Time of the occurrence of the hurricanes.

[16] *Eendels af migh dedicerade.*

but afterwards,[17] *because God Almighty pleased to place upon me, twelve years ago, old, poor and sickly man, a severe and unhappy suffering, pain, burning and aching in all my joints whereby I have now, unfortunately, been confined to my bed continually for eight years and am still afflicted with it. I have, nevertheless, during these my severe and troublesome years of sickness and imprisonment*[18] *considered and applied myself to this insignificant but well-meant work, and when I have felt, at times, some relief from my severe and intolerable suffering and pain, then I have worked upon it, so that it (Glory be to God)*[19] *has now finally attained its completion.*

And though, during my severe suffering and sickness, I was obliged to expend and disperse a considerable part of my small means for doctors and medicine, yet it was, unfortunately, all wasted to no purpose, and I am still in the same condition as formerly; for which reason I fear that it will be my cross to the end, as long as my lifetime lasts in this world. But may the Lord God most graciously grant me good patience, mercifully diminish my pains and become my best physician and grant upon this a gracious and blessed issue. Through the said exhaustion of my means I have become so much ruined and weakened that (alas), on account of my inability, I could not comply with the gracious and agreeable desire of the praiseworthy

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[17] The idea is this: It was not possible for him, on account of his arduous duties, to carry out his design, until illness compelled him to withdraw from active work.

[18] Confinement through his illness.

[19] Exclamations of this kind are common in the 17th century literature and can hardly be translated today.

Royal Government and have this, my little but well-meant work, published, for the cost will be considerable for copper-engravings, paper, printing and binding. Consequently, I will presume, in deepest humility, that Your Royal Highness will promote my best [interest] in this my neediness and in the most gracious and high praised clemency open his kind hand and with some condolence refresh and comfort me in this my wretched, lamentable and very grievous condition. Thus I feel that I owe to the most gracious and high-praised clemency of Your Royal Highness, all honor and dutiful and obedient service, and in the most humble manner dedicate in writing this my insignificant, simple but well-meant work.

And secondly, as the great progress and delight in the commenced studies of Your Royal Highness for the illumination of all things is well-known; it is also humbly explained that Your Royal Highness may have a particular pleasure to read about and see the condition, government, life, customs and proficiencies of the remotest nations and countries in the world, in like manner may Your Royal Highness deign to devote time and convenience to look over and read this my insignificant though well-meant treatise, concerning the description of the Americans or the West Indians [and] about their conditions. I most humbly beg that Your Royal Highness will graciously in the most favorable manner be pleased to receive this my little work and my dutiful, humble and well-intended service and hereafter be and remain my gracious Lord, which I wholly and always humbly expect, promising Your Royal Highness, as is always my

duty, that I shall be found ready to loyal submission and obedience as long as life is granted to me.

Herewith wishing Your Royal Highness, faithfully and with all my heart, that God with His holy Angels will protect Your Royal Highness against all sorts of danger, as also preserve Your Royal Highness with a desirable and long continued health, with all kinds of happy conditions and all that is dear to the heart of Your Royal Highness for life and soul, for which I shall ask hourly, faithfully, fervently in my prayers; as I shall continuously remain until the hour of my death,

Gracious Lord,
Your Royal Highness'
Most Humble and Dutiful Servant,
Per Lindheström.[20]

Dated at Brosäter,
Wärmelandznääs,[21]
the 8th of December, Anno 1691.

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[20] He also writes it Peer, Pehr, Peter, Petter, and Lindeström (without the h), which is the most usual form.

[21] Brosäter near Bro, Värmlandsnäs.

PRÆFATIO AD CANDIDUM ET BENEVOLUM LECTOREM[22]

Gentle reader, in former times, we considered and held those men to be intelligent and wise, who had journeyed far and tried things, inspected many countries, large and beautiful cities, strong and fast castles and fortifications, acquainted themselves with the manners and characteristics of different kinds of men, beautiful and artistic architecture and buildings, as well as learnt to understand and to know the nature of various kinds of animals, fishes, trees, herbs and roots. Such men have been elevated to great dignity and honor, and [Kings have] employed them as counsellors and governors over common people, because through their experience they were able to give good information and advice about all sorts of cases, affairs and instances. But in this our time it is not especially necessary that we travel here and there, far and wide, crosswise and lengthwise, round about the world, observe and see countries, cities, waters, mountains and valleys, as well as customs and manners, usages, trade, government over nations and the characteristics and nature of animals, trees, herbs and roots; because we now find such [things] described and composed in books; that therefrom one can learn to understand more of one country and another than the one who

[22] Preface to the honorable and benevolent reader.

has been for [*a*] *year and* [*a*] *day*[23] *or more in the same country. There*[24] *we find how the one nation, in this our time as well as in former times, has had intercourse with another and carried on trade with one another; and formerly* [*they*] *were*[25] *simple people, used no coined money, but traded only with merchandise for merchandise, and lived very well and peaceably together. In former times the people here on earth were not rich, neither did they aspire after any riches, but were satisfied with little. The men with their wives and children held to under*[26] [*the*] *bare heavens, in the shade, under some large tree, and at that time they had no other dwellings, and* [*they*] *lived only on cattle and fruits and drank water; they covered their shame at first only with the leaves of the trees, and some time afterwards prepared furs for themselves, and wrapped around themselves. At that time they knew nothing about any great luxury, show and ornament or decoration in their clothes, neither did they aspire to any worldly honor.* [*In*] *former times they did not use any walls, ramparts or trenches around themselves, but when it became dark, they laid down in quiet to sleep and did not fear either murderers or thieves, and lived entirely without trouble and care. But when man began to increase in number and nourishment commenced to become scarce and* [*there was*] *a deficiency in many things, and wild animals began*

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[23] ***åhr och dagh (år och dag)***, for years, for a long time. Cp. the German, *Jahr und Tag*.

[24] In these books on Geography and Travel.

[25] [*dhe hafwa*] *warit*, [they have] been. Cp. German pr. perf. and pl. perf., generally translated by the English imperfect.

[26] ***höllo till***, lived, stayed.

to show themselves in great numbers and cause great damage to man and [when] foreign people began to travel on the sea, murder and rob; then they[27] *united to oppose these*[28] *their enemies and to live together in municipal fashion.*[29] *And finally necessity drove them to build walls and trenches for their protection and to elect rulers that they might live peacefully with one another. Then they began to support and nourish themselves with their cattle and handicraft, tied trees together, with which to float over waters, carried on trade and commerce, hitched up horses*[30] *to cultivate the ground, manufactured money for themselves, dressed handsomely*[31] *talked friendly [together], built splendidly, abstained from murder and the eating of human flesh*[32] *and from robbery and unchastity, particularly with mothers and daughters. And smooth and level places they began then to prepare for fields and vineyards, sow grains, press grapes and plant fine orchards, so that the whole earth quickly came to bear grain and fruit in great abundance. Afterwards they began to build fine, large, fortified cities in the most suitable places, as well as villages, estates and farm houses*[33] *and to erect*[34] *on high moun-*

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[27] The people of a tribe.

[28] *sådanne sijne fiender*, such their enemies.

[29] *efter borgerliget sätt*, communal fashion.

[30] *spänte hästar före*, hitched up horses, that is trained horses for agricultural purposes.

[31] *kläda sigh, tala*, etc., are verbs in the present tense in Lindeström.

[32] Lindeström therefore assumes that cannibalism was prevalent among primitive man. Cf. Introduction, above.

[33] *Torp*, thorp, cottage, a crofter's place, crofts. Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 350–51, especially notes 25–26.

[34] *upmura (uppmura)*, to build up with stone and mortar.

tains and hills castles and strongholds; in the valleys [they began] to dig deep, wholesome and pleasant wells, and to plant fine trees around them, which could protect the water [in the wells] from the heat of the sun, as well as to elevate the water on high and make running water and artificial fountains.[35] *The flowing brooks, which overflowed [their banks] and damaged the land, were dammed by earth [works] and, where one could not pass over, strong bridges were built.*[36]

And thus the earth is now settled with cities, castles, forts, villages, estates, crofts, fields, vineyards, pleasant orchards and such things, so that it may now be looked upon as another earth than it was formerly in the earliest times. Thus we see how the world in these times has been placed in a beautiful order, compared to what it was in former times. And the earth cannot be transformed [merely] by the change of inhabitants, for in whatever country it may be, the mountains and valleys, flowing waters and still standing lakes cannot change but remain in the condition, which they were in formerly. But the occupation of the earth with castles, fortifications, cities, villages, manners, with manifold government[s], customs and inhabitants, such [things] can change in a short time. If we take Germany, Sweden or any other country by itself and compare,[37] *for example, the old illustrations with these new ones,*

[35] Lindeström changes the time to the present in this sentence.

[36] The meaning is evidently this: The overflowing of brooks and rivers, which caused great damage, was prevented by the construction of dykes, and bridges were built where passage was otherwise impossible.

[37] *Collationera*, collate.

made in our day, we shall find much is different from [*what it was*] *two or three hundred years ago. What a contrast*[38] *we find in the Holy Lands; that which formerly surpassed all other countries in productiveness, that is now lying totally waste. Thus everything changes in time and is perishable, as the proverb goes,* Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.[39]

When one now wishes to examine and consider this my above account of the condition of former times, it is hardly to be believed that in those times our ancestors, a principia mundi,[40] *could have done so much in this geographical science* [*and*] *have accomplished so much, through their ingenious speculations and through their quick and lively genius, without any* præceptoris demonstratis ex natura et usu,[41] [so] *that the science has been to some extent known and revealed to them, although our ancestors in former times could not reach such complete perfection therein as now* [*is possible*] *in present times, since the world has become older and has made itself more and more proficient and excellent. From this comes the old proverb of our forefathers; in all unknown things and illiterate faculties,* Ignoti nulla Cupido.[42] *But when* Cupido, *desire, the will and capacity, are found in man to comprehend a thing, then the difficulty and labor are made easy, and help to pull half of the load, however impossible, heavy and difficult that may be, which has*

[38] *Wedherspeel (vederspel, motsats)*, antithesis, contrast.
[39] Times change and we change with them.
[40] In the beginning of the world.
[41] Demonstrations of a teacher from nature and experience.
[42] No desire for the unknown.

been tried by innumerable experiences and can be proved by the old proverb: Omnia conando docilis soloertia vincit.[43] *Thus have I, very sick servant and old man, whom God pleased to afflict, twelve years ago, with a severe and intolerable sickness, torment and pain in all my limbs, through which, alas, I have been constantly confined to my bed during eight consecutive years, and am still (God comfort [me]) in the same condition, also verified this proverb, as I have now on my difficult sick bed, contrary to my expectations, finished this my determined though little and simple work, concerning this book, to which I have given the title and called it Geography of America or Description of West India; for the desire, will and inclination for this work have overcome all my troubles and difficulties.*

And it appears to me in this matter that I could not better or more suitably apply the manner of living, the customs and abilities of our early ancestors than to [the condition which] the American Indians at the present day may present.[44] *I will also say this, that many a well-read and intelligent man knows more to relate about a foreign country, where he, however, never has been with body or soul, than many a coarse, rude and care-*

[43] Trying everything apt skill conquers.

[44] *Och de förrige wåre Antecessores fordom leffnat, sedher och skickelighecter, haar jagh eij heller som migh sijnes, likare kunnat appliccra, till denna materien, änn som nu för tijdhen dee Americaners månd tillstå.* Lindeström's idea is that the customs and manners and especially the knowledge about other peoples and countries—that is knowledge of geography—of the early ancestors of the Swedes were similar to those of the Indians of New Sweden. Hence he compares the lives, customs and manners of the Swedes in the so-called stone age to those of the Indians as he found them in America in 1654–5. Cf. Introduction, above.

less person, who may often have roamed through such countries, but not taken any notice of its condition.

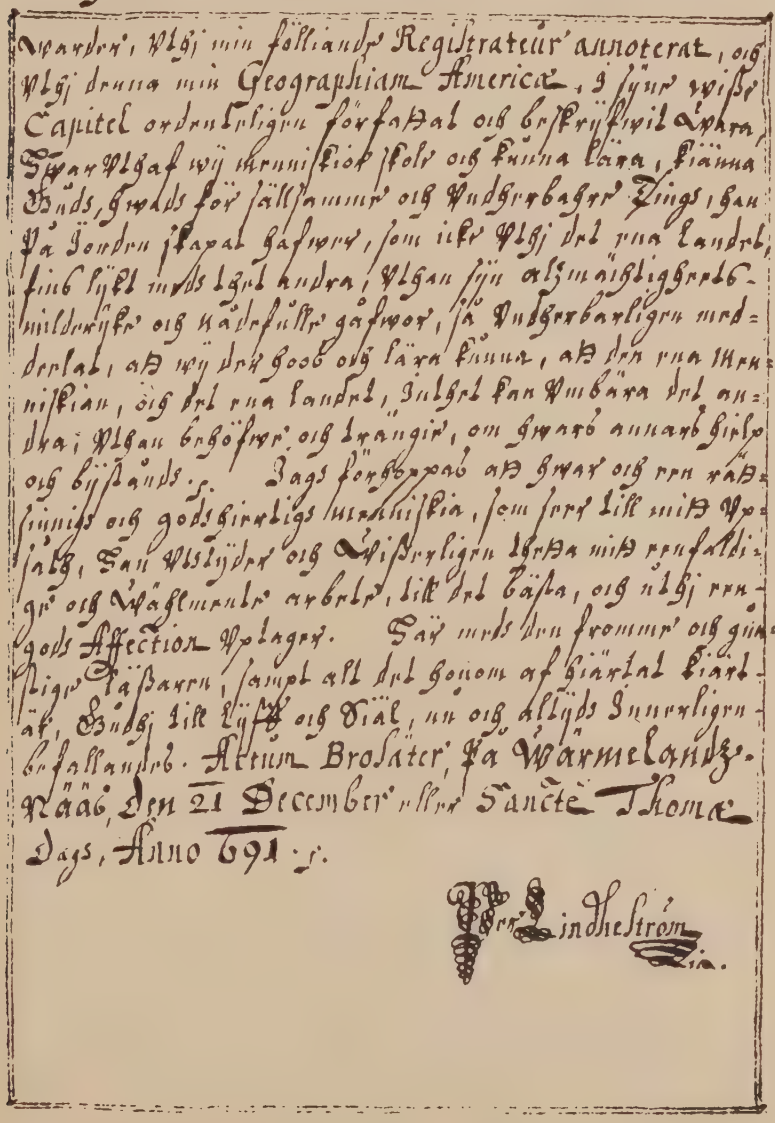
And many a person who cannot possibly travel and see such countries, yet is very desirous to know the situation and condition of these countries, therefore I have, during the above mentioned sickness and severe and disagreeable years of imprisonment, assumed to prepare and write this, my little but simple and well meaning work, concerning a Geography of America. And I will thus wander with the gentle reader and lover of it, sail across the western ocean to the remotest part of America, and demonstrate the rich and abundant fruitfulness of some of the principal West Indian Islands, which otherwise are called and entitled the New World, which in their fruitfulness far surpass the East Indies, situated farther north. I will also acquaint the gentle reader with the condition of the American savage people and various things in America, which are very pleasing, merry and interesting to read, as the kind reader will find noted in the following table of contents and regularly composed and described in certain chapters in this my Geography of America, from which we human beings may learn to know the strange and wonderful things God has created on earth, which are not found to be alike in the different countries, and how He through His omnipotence so wonderfully has bestowed upon us benign and gracious gifts, from which we may also learn that the one person and the one country cannot dispense with the other, but need and require mutual aid and assistance. [*Finally*] *I hope that*

every right-minded and good-hearted person, who perceives my intention, will construe this my simple, and well intended work to the best advantage, and accept it with a good disposition. Herewith I sincerely recommend the pious and kind reader with life and soul, and all that is dear to his heart, to God, now and always.

Done at Brosäter, Wärmelandznääs,
The 21st of December, or St Thomas' Day, Anno 1691.

Per Lindheström.

Præfatio ad Candidum Lectorem.



6. Last page of the Preface to the Reader. Original size.

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Geographia Americæ
or
Indiæ Occidentalis

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Voyage to New Sweden, and What Especially Happened Most Worthy of Notice During That Voyage.[1]

In the year 1653, in September, Her Royal Majesty, now the late Queen Christina, graciously ordered the honorable and brave Ship-Captain, Mr. Johan Bockshorn, to betake himself to New Sweden with the Ship *Öhrn*[2] with people, merchandise and ammunition to the assistance of the Honorable Governor Mr. Johan Printz (now blessed with God).

At the same time Her Royal Majesty graciously appointed the former Secretary of the praiseworthy Royal College of Commerce, the Honorable Mr. Johan Rijsingh (now blessed with God) as Commissary and Assistant Councillor to the Honorable Governor Johan Printz; also the noble and brave Sven Schüte, Commander of the Military, the Honorable Mr. Elias Gyllengreen as Lieutenant and myself, Per Lindheström, En-

[1] For an account of this voyage, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 469ff.
[2] *The Eagle*, see *ibid.*, II, 470.

gineer for New Sweden, and graciously ordered [them] to proceed on board of the said ship *Öhrn* to New Sweden.[3]

Her Royal Majesty also graciously ordered the brave Ship-Captain Hans Amunsson, and the trusty factor, Mr. Hindrick Elzwich to the ship *Guldenhay*[4] to repair first to Porto Rico, and endeavor there with the Spaniard[s] to obtain damages, which the ship *Katt* suffered, which stranded at that place seven years before; and the merchandise was confiscated by the Spaniards, when it was on its way to New Sweden to the assistance of Governor Printz. And after the settlement of the affair at Porto Rico, the ship *Guldenhay* was, according to the orders of Her Royal Majesty, to sail to New Sweden.[5]

But unfortunately it did not reach New Sweden, because they had a villain as pilot on board of the *Guldenhay,* a Hollander, who knew that the Hollander[s] intended soon to attack New Sweden. Consequently after they departed from Porto Rico, the said pilot steered the ship *Guldenhay* past New Sweden, and direct on to the city of Manahattans in New Netherland, where the Dutch Governor of the place, General Styfvesandh, seized the said ship with people and merchandise.[6]

In October the same year, we weighed anchor, set sail and departed in the name of Jesus from

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[3] For Printz, Rising, etc., see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 688–90, 693–95; Johnson, *Johan Rising, A Biography* (Swedish Colonial Society).

[4] *Guldenhaij (Gyllene Haj),* Golden Shark.

[5] For an account of this, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 490ff.

[6] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 496.

Stockholm on our intended voyage to New Sweden, but at first to Gothenburg, to take on board people, merchandise, provision and ammunition, which were to be transported to New Sweden. Not till December did we reach Gothenburg, as we were on the way about six weeks, on account of contrary wind.

In the year 1654, the 2nd of January, the soldiers and freemen were mustered outside of Gothenburg, at Stijghbergh[7], and their certificates and testimonials [were] examined, because Her Royal Majesty's most earnest command was, that if there were found any criminals, malefactors or others who had done any wrong and intended to go along on that American voyage, the mustering men and officers of the Admiralty should not dare to receive [them] or permit [them] to go along, on pain of punishment, so that God, the Most High, might not let His revenge and punishment afflict the accompanying good people and the ship and goods, with the bad and wicked. Usually a pious and rightminded person avoids and does not wish to be mixed with such evil companions and company, on account of evil report. Although in the beginning, when New Sweden was first settled, and people feared to travel the long way, then some persons who had cut down oak trees, oak branches, oakhooks [and had done] such like [misdemeanors] against the Royal Ordinance, were therefore transported thither; through which they escaped from punishment and received pardon. Because at that time no one dared undertake

[7] Stigberg.

the long and difficult voyage, just as at first happened [in going] to Ingermanland, which journey over against this, however, can be considered as only [the passage of] a little inland lake compared to [that of] the great western ocean.[8] Now, however, because plenty of good people can easily be had, yes, even many more than can be shipped over, who are very willing to undertake that voyage, some through a passion for travel[9], who are desirous to go far away and try their luck and see the course and nature of the world, some for the sake of trade and commerce, and some who wish to live and settle in the country with their wives and children. So we needed not to take any people of bad habits with us on this journey. And the freemen who live in the country now and were formerly transported [thither] for breaking some royal ordinance here in Sweden, they live so homelike, rich and comfortable, having all the [good things] they can wish for, that they have not the least desire ever to leave the place. And it is in truth such a fertile country, as to be worthy of having good people for inhabitants and to be described with the highest praise, which can be learned from this my Geography of America or Description of West India, as well as from my appended maps and drawings.

Now there were many of [evil] repute among the crowd who were mustered out and rejected,[10]

[8] The idea is: The journey to Ingermanland (in northern Sweden), as compared to the voyage to America is like the passage of a small inland lake compared to the crossing of the world ocean.

[9] *en part för passionerare.* Not clear; perhaps it means, one part as passengers (?), that is those who travel for pleasure.

[10] It is interesting to note that people of evil repute were mustered out; only colonists of good character were accepted.

but besides these about 100 families, good honest people, who had fine recommendations and a splendid reputation, had to remain [behind] in the [old] country with their wives and children, unable to get on the ship for want of room for such a great number and [these] increased more and more daily. These people were very much to be pitied, because they had sold all their household articles, cattle and all their property and all that they possessed, turned it into money and necessary commodities [for the voyage] supposing it could not by any means fail them to go along on the ship.

The 27th of January all the people on the ship *Öhrn* took the oath of allegiance under flying colors, that they should be loyal and faithful to Her Royal Majesty, our most Gracious Queen, our dear fatherland and the praiseworthy Royal South Company, and thus conduct themselves in all things, as is becoming and is required of faithful subjects and servants, that they will and can with a clear and good conscience stand responsible before the most high God, Her Royal Majesty, the praiseworthy Royal South Company and every honest man. This took place in the presence of and before the late Admiral Anckerhielm[11], the late Honorable Commissioner Johan Rijsingh and other officers concerned.

The 2nd of February, we weighed anchor, set sail, gave the salute and set out in Jesus' name on our intended voyage from Gothenburg to New Sweden. We sailed away in such a cracking cold

[11] For Anckarhjelm, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 673–4.

winter and great storm, when the ice on the [main] inlet had become quite thick and strong, and although there was no want of men among us, yet we had enough to do, [and it was with] great difficulty that we were able to work ourselves out into the ocean; and we were nearly frozen in [and almost] compelled to take up winter quarters there, although we did our very best to get away from Gothenburg. But when we got to sea, we took our course along the coasts of Scotland and England.

The 16th of February, before sunrise, we had come near to the city of Cales[12] in France. Then our Ship-Captain was so confused that he, with astonishment, did not know in what region we were, because, on account of the dark and obscure weather, we were not able to make any observations during the period of 14 days, [and he] could not think that we should have had so much bad luck that we should have arrived so far away [out of our course].[13] Although he knew well the speed of the ship *Öhrn,* that when it had a favorable wind, then it sailed 45 miles[14] a day. "But if this," said he, "is Cales in France, then has the *Öhrn* obtained other wings and has shot onward like a [real] eagle." When it now became daylight, we perceived that we were before the Cape

[12] Calais.

[13] *Att det så mycket medh oss skulle hafwa lijdit. Lida* also means to pass, to advance. If it has that significance here, the sentence will be rendered thus: [he] could not think that it had progressed so much with us [we had travelled so far] that we should have come so far away [from where we started].

[14] This probably means German miles, as Lindeström used them in his maps. For German miles, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 42, and note 23.

of France, on account of which news the people on the ship were greatly astonished, jubilant and delighted. Then we laid to with our ship and cast anchor before Cales, having been on the way from Gothenburg 14 days, and were almost on the point of being lost in the inexpressibly hard blowing and violent storms and the dark and obscure weather.

At that time, here in Cales, many delicious, palatable and rare pies were baked, which were widely cried out [for sale]. [I] will relate a story which happened then in Cales, concerning an affair between a barber and a pie-baker, which took place thus: The barber had a front chamber in his house in front of his [own] room.[15] Below that chamber-floor he had made for himself a secret cellar and above the floor was a square trap-door, so nicely made that one who did not look for it closely could not see where it was joined, and the said trap-door shut so hard that a person could sit on a chair on it and [it] did not go down by it. But when one stamped once hard on it with the foot, it fell down immediately. Now when any traveler, who was of a foreign nation, came to this barber to be shaved, then he took him into this said chamber, placed a chair on the aforesaid trap-door for him to sit upon, while he was to shave him. The stranger did thus. When now the barber began to shave him and came to shave him under his chin, he cut his throat, stamped thus while he cut him on the said trap-door with his foot, by which the trap-door with the man and chair fell down into

[15] *Framcammar*, front chamber *(stuga)*, small house, cabin, hall, outer room.

the cellar and immediately thereafter he robbed him. And because the said barber and pie-baker were in company[16] and council together in this [affair], the former sold the human flesh to the latter of which he baked the above mentioned rare pies.[17] These were[18] at last discovered and betrayed in this manner, namely: Two traveling students from a foreign country arrived there, and in going along the street came right before the barber's [house]. Then one companion said to the other: "Brother go and engage good lodgings for us somewhere, where you can find some good people. I will, in the meantime, go into this barber to get shaved, where I will wait for you so long, until you return here to me again." However, the barber did away with him,[19] after his usual aforesaid manner and custom with others. Now finally the other one returned and asked the barber after his companion. He answered that he went his way immediately after he had been shaved. But this companion of his did not believe it, rather considered his companion's word to be more creditable, upon which he relied, but did not [yet] know what he should do. Nor would he risk to accuse this barber right away, although he might have his suspicion, but went away at first everywhere

[16] *Mascapie* (maatschappij, Dutch), company, combination, plot.

[17] This story is found in a number of variations. Human flesh is relished by many tribes and the basis for Lindeström's story, told by some seaman, may have had a foundation of truth. See the author's *Ethnography of Certain Bantu Tribes of West Africa; The Land of the Pigmies*, 147 ff., etc.

[18] *Hwilke (vilka)*, who, is used in the original. The tense is present in Lindeström.

[19] *Giorde . . . caputt* (mod. Swedish *gjorde av med honom*), to kill, to do away with. For *Caputt (kaput)*, see note 152 below (Chapt. I).

about the city and sought for him, but did not find him. He therefore went back to the same barber again and began to quarrel with him, telling him that he must produce his companion, "for here in the house I must have him again," he said. At this the barber waxed angry and wanted to treat him with striking and beating. The other [one] then made a complaint before a magistrate of the city, stating the nature of the case concerning his comrade, with the request that he might get some good men to go with him to search the barber's house for his companion, which was granted him. Now when those arrived there, who were ordered to search [the barber's house], they searched everywhere,[20] but did not find him. Finally, they came into the said chamber, where the sergeant stepped on the trap-door, saying in an angry tone: "According to the word and account of this comrade of his, we must really find the man here in the house,"[21] and with this he stamped on the trap door. Thereby the sergeant fell down into the cellar on the comrade of the other, who had not yet been undressed. Here the cellar was as full of skulls and skeletons as a charnel house[22] in a churchyard. Thus both the barber and the pie-baker were arrested and locked up and soon afterwards received as a reward a miserable departure [from this life]. This account is written with the object of [instructing] him who intends to travel and gain experience, in the first place that he may

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[20] *sökte the bådhe lijkt och olykt*, they sought [for] both like and unlike [things].

[21] *wij måste . . . hafwa . . . igen*, we must have again, find.

[22] *Beencammar*, bone-chamber.

herefrom be able to see how very necessary it is for him to have a good and faithful companion and secondly that he may know how to guard himself against such villains in similar and other cases and instances.

On the same day,[23] immediately after midday, we weighed anchor, set sail and directed our course through the Channel. When we now arrived somewhat nearer the coast of England right in front of the city of Dofwer,[24] we observed three large English frigates—warships which came from the Holland expedition—which pursued us speedily with a favorable wind and thundered off their guns, intending it as a command for us to heave to and abide their arrival. This command we did not obey,[25] which angered them greatly. When they finally caught up with us, [they] called out from one of the frigates named *De Parle*[26] which the English Admiral Sir Saiwerell[27] commanded, asking what ship it was and where [it] came from. When we had answered this, that it was a Swedish ship, coming from Stockholm, they would not believe it, as there was then war between England and Holland, but thought it must certainly be a Dutch ship which, under false pretense carried Swedish flags, whereby they[28] might be able to pass free from the English, particularly as our Ship-Captain Bockshorn was by birth a Hollander and answered them in Dutch. Therefore, they

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[23] February 16, 1654.
[24] Dover.
[25] *Parera;* parry, here head, obey.
[26] *The Pearl.*
[27] Capt. Cheverell (?)
[28] The Dutch.

became still more suspicious about it. They called out anew and requested our captain to come to them on board the frigate to present and let them see our passport. We did not think it necessary to lower our yawl[29] but answered that we were upright, honest Swedes, "we are making a legitimate voyage, and have nothing to do with you. You may safely believe our word." They answered: "If you do not willingly comply with our request, then you must *nolens volens* do it." Then they fired first one cannon [ball] at our ship and shortly after followed still a few more, so that the tackling and bowsprit[30] flew off from our ship. Then they raised the red flag,[31] presented their broadsides, and made themselves ready for action. We then heaved to, lowered our yawl and sent our ship's lieutenant with the passport which our gracious Queen had given to us, whom they detained in arrest and sent their first mate over with the tidings, that in case we wished to pass through the Channel with safety, we could not do it, without a passport from the English Admiral, for which reason we were obliged to follow these English ships back to the city of Dofwer again to get a passport at that place, and [we] arrived there, when it began to grow dark[32] and remained lying there over night.

That water which runs between England and France, it is called the Channel which is 90 miles long and 5 miles broad,[33] but in some places

[29] *Espingh (esping, asping)*, long boat used in going ashore or boarding other ships.
[30] *Sprôt (bogsprôt)*.
[31] *Blodhflaggan*, blood-flag, battle-flag.
[32] *Nattsattes*, was nighting, growing night.
[33] Swedish or perhaps German miles. See note 14 above.

broader across. On the English side all along the Channel, at about every mile, a man-of-war was lying at anchor for the defense and protection [of the country] in that war. For that reason we could not have passed through without returning to Dofwer to get a passport. It was therefore lucky [for us] that these ships stopped us, before we had proceeded farther, as our voyage would then have been much more retarded and prolonged.

And outside of this city of Dofwer on a high mountain, somewhat nearer the English cape,[34] stands a fine strong fortified castle, which formerly stood inside of the city of Dofwer, but later upon a night Satan by his art and power moved it out of the city and up on that high mountain, where it now stands, which he now possesses and occupies with his followers. Nor can any person live or stay there in peace, on account of the strong power[35] (?) of Satan, as he wants to rule there himself. And there it burns in the night time, as if it stood in bright flames.[36] And there are also found in many places in England fine strong and fast castles and fortifications over which Satan has such power that no human being can live or stay in them.[37]

In the city of Dofwer [the roofs of] the houses are for the most part covered with nothing but flint,[38] just as we here in Sweden, cover [our

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[34] *Något närmare*, somewhat nearer. Lindeström apparently means quite near.

[35] *Tentationer*, perhaps temptations.

[36] Stories about haunted castles were numerous in all countries before the 19th century and accepted as true.

[37] The literature on the subject is considerable.

[38] *Flintta*, flint, but slate is undoubtedly meant.

roofs] with shingles. Mortar is placed between the flint plates and these are uncommonly strong and durable roofs. Some of the houses are entirely built of flint, the walls as well as the roofs and chimneys.

The 17th of February, in the morning, which was the second day after [our arrival], we sent our Army-Lieutenant Gyllengren on board to the English. Then the Englishman promised a dismissal,[39] if only our commander or ship-captain would go there first and talk with him. Thereupon our commander Sven Schüte and I were ordered to go there on board to the English and clear up everything. We were at first richly entertained and then drank to the health of His Royal Majesty, the King of England,[40] and later to the memory of our Gracious Queen of Sweden, and therewith a salute was given. After our entertainment we received our passport with which we could pass free and secure, without any further obstacles from any of the 90 English warships lying in the Channel. Besides this when we now bid farewell, the English salute was given and a large basket full of oranges and lemons, the very most two men could carry on a pole, was presented to us for [our] refreshment on the voyage and a sign of good friendship, which we received with thanks and brought with us on board our ship.

[39] The English admiral promised to give us a passport. The English were more liberal in this matter than might have been expected. As the captain was a Hollander, he would, in the late war, have been removed and interned. But the entire population was not drafted in those days as in the late war.

[40] Charles II was now in exile on the continent and Cromwell was firmly in power; but from the above it would appear that the naval officers were in favor of the King.

When we now arrived on board of our ship, we weighed anchor at once, set sail and gave a salute, whereupon the English vessels immediately answered with a salute. We parted and took our course through the Channel and towards Wallmüden,[41] in England.

The 27th of February we arrived in the River Wallmüden[42] and cast anchor, there to remain a few days to take in fresh water. Afterwards we went to the town Perinconquick[43] and cast anchor there. Commissioner Rijsingh and I had ourselves put on shore, to spend two or three days there, and we lodged with the mayor of the place. At last the local Governor by the name of Deputé[44] came to our lodgings to greet us and get news from us. Then we received him with all kindness, honor and service to the utmost of our power. When he now finally took his departure, he invited us to dine with him, which we were obliged to accept, and immediately followed him to the palace, where we were most magnificently treated and entertained, so long that we did not return to our lodgings until some time after midnight. [During the entertainment] we drank to the health of His

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[41] Weymouth.

[42] Weymouth River.

[43] In answer to an inquiry about Perinconquick and Perin Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, writes me as follows: "Perin must be Penryn, while Perinconquick must mean Pen-y-cwm-cuick, the Cornish or Celtic name which belonged to the site of Falmouth, before Falmouth was founded, about 1660. See B. Clarke, *British Gazetteer* (London, 1852), II, 167, or Davies Gilbert, *Parochial History of Cornwall* (London, 1838), II, 20. . . . Pen-y-cwm-cuick means, I believe, a hill at the head of a small bay. The English corrupted it into Penny-come-quick, and then made an absurd *Volksetymologie* for it."

[44] Depery (?).

Royal Majesty of England and Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Christina and to the name of our future King Charles X.[45] At each toast the English gave a double salute, which was continued with uninterrupted shooting from the time we began to drink the toasts during the meal and until we took leave in the night, through which a constant and familiar friendship between the Swedes and English was to be demonstrated and denoted as indissoluble.

Here in Wallmüden, appears to us Swedes, who have not been in England before, the English custom curious and strange, that when men and women come together to greet one another and shake hands, be they rich or poor, young or old, it happens with kissing. *Item.* A man and his wife ride together on one horse, the man on his saddle astride before, and brings his wife or his bolster[46] back of himself, on a side saddle,[47] yet both saddles [are] joined together on one beam.[48]

The 28th of February Commissioner Johan Rijsingh and I walked from the town Perinconquick to the town of Perin,[49] which was located barely a quarter of a mile[50] above there, which we, together with other objects, examined. These two mentioned towns are splendidly and securely fortified as well as the entrance to the said river on both sides, well protected with strong fortified works,

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[45] King Charles X had at that time been proclaimed crown prince.

[46] *Bolstret.*

[47] *twersadell,* cross saddle.

[48] *Bohm (bom),* boom, beam.

[49] Penryn, see above, note 43. Cf. Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal. Mem. of the Long Is. Hist. So.,* I, 27–28.

[50] *Fierdingzwägh,* about 1¼ English miles.

and on several places in the hills are small fortified works, which one cannot see without watching closely, when one observes the light and smoke, as the guns are discharged. On the same day in the evening we returned from Perin to Perinconquick to our lodgings again.

In the night the town musician came also to us before the gate of our lodging, according to the custom of the country, to welcome those who are of a strange nation, who come to them, and presented us with a serenade of a most delightful and pleasing music, for which we had to open up our purses.

There are no forests in England,[51] but their fuel is earth and turf as in Holland. And a bunch of twigs in England as large as a bathing broom[52] costs two pence or two *öre,* s. m.,[53] which is sometimes used by the rich for comfort and fuel, because the turf gives out a bad and unhealthy stench or odor, which everyone cannot endure and tolerate. Therefore for the want of wood they cannot fence or hedge in their possession[s] in fields, meadows and pastures with woodwork as [is done] here in Sweden, Norway and similar countries, where large forests exist.[54] But their enclosures and fences around their fields and meadows they usually make of stone,—just as is

[51] Lindeström had probably been told by some sailor that "England is as free from trees as the sea-coast around here."

[52] A small broom made of branches and used during a hot bath to increase perspiration. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 358.

[53] *Ibid.,* I, 41.

[54] The wooden fences of the Swedes on the Delaware were copies of the fences used in Sweden. Swedish fences have been preserved by Dr. Mercer in the Doylestown Museum.

mostly done in Holland, Germany and Denmark, where no forests exist,—filled in with turf and earth and planted on top with creeping bushes, thorns and hawthorn and with broad and deep ditches on both sides, outside and inside.[55] This is a very durable enclosure which can stand for several generations, before it becomes so dilapidated that it needs to be repaired.

On our return voyage [to Europe] we were in the River Pleymuden[56] in England and lay with our ship in the harbor called Western Comfort, which is a splendid, beautiful harbor, situated between the islands. [While] there I visited Pleymuden and the village of Standsiö,[57] situated an English mile in front of the town. Which town[58] is very pleasant and occupied by fine and costly houses, excepting those of the common people out by the city gates. They are constructed with flint and the roofs covered with plates of flint.[59] And from this town of Pleymuden to Londhen, the capital city of England, it is reckoned [to be] 20 English miles. I have also visited the castle and fortress of Draakfort,[60] together with eleven of the strong fortresses which were situated on the islands, and on each side of this river or inlet of Pleymuden. Besides this [there is] in this river a castle, over which Satan has such power that no person can live or stay therein and this is a

[55] That is outside and inside of the stone fence or rather stone wall.
[56] Plymouth.
[57] Swansea.
[58] Plymouth.
[59] See above, note 38 (Chapt. I).
[60] One of the fortifications guarding the river, named after Drake.

very strong castle, but not equal to the above mentioned castle Draakefort which is impregnable.[61] On our return voyage from [West] India, when we sailed out of Pleymuden, which was the year after [our outward journey or], 1655, the 19th of December, we saw in the Channel a French ship fighting with two English ships, with extraordinary bravery, and the English were three times on board the French ship, but he[62] fought them off bravely all three times. Finally the French ship began to sink, when they called for quarters, but the English did not hear their prayer and pardoned only a few.[63] Neither of them knew that peace had been concluded between England and France, which was [publicly] celebrated two days before, which was the 17th of December, at the village of Standsiö, when we were there. And it[64] was so splendid that I cannot forego to mention it. All the bells went in a dance,[65] and those who announced the peace were two heralds marching ahead, dressed in brocade with silver sceptres in their hands, and after them [marched] twenty persons, two and two abreast, dressed in fine red scarlet, spangled all over with gold and silver. Now I shall proceed further with our American Journey to West India.

The 2nd of March we bade farewell to Perinconquick and went on board again in the name of Jesus.

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[61] Lindeström was greatly impressed with the English coast defence.
[62] The French commander.
[63] No quarter was given, only a few being spared.
[64] The peace celebration.
[65] All the bells were tolled violently.

The 3rd of March in the morning we weighed anchor, set sail, gave salute, took leave of Wallmüden, [passed] the English cape Sorlingen[66] and the French cape Heijsandh,[67] setting out on our voyage to West India again, taking our course out into the Western Ocean, enduring on the way a terrible and violent storm, which continued for the period of two weeks and a half, with storms and much foggy weather, so that we could take or observe no elevations, finally not knowing where we were.

On the 20th of March we arrived at the Canary Island, which island the Spanish inhabit. On account of the dark weather we could not see, during our passage, that celebrated high mountain, which is situated on the Large Canary [Island], called Canary Peak, which otherwise in clear weather can be seen 60 German miles off in the Western Ocean, which mountain reaches so high up into the sky that, if a person were on top of it, some morning or evening, then the sky would carry him away with it.[68]

When we now arrived late in the evening at the Great Canary, we cast anchor, and the Spaniards discharged their guns and shot at us the whole night. Our ship-captain Bockshorn was so confused through the long continued dark weather which we had had incessantly, since we left the

[66] This form of the name of the island was used in German and Dutch works. See *Cosmographia*, Frankfurt, 1581, etc.

[67] D'Ouessant.

[68] That is the clouds would carry him away. A superstition and belief that if a person would mount high enough on some lofty mountain before sunrise or after sunset, he would float away. The highest peaks on the Canary Isles, however, are on Teneriffe (over 12,000 feet) and on Palma (nearly 8000 feet).

Channel, that he could not know where we were going and could not even think or believe that we had gone so far out of our right course. In the night a ship's council was called to consult about what would be advisable to do; for in case we were in a strange place, it might so happen that we could not proceed with our Swedish passport. Therefore it was decided that it must be translated into Latin and made ready before morning and the same seal, which is below our Swedish pass [must] be used, all of which I executed during the night.[69]

The 21st of March in the morning as soon as it became daylight, the Governor of the place, called Don Philiph de Palasso,[70] came over himself with three large yachts and a numerous suite [and went] on board of our ship *Öhrn,* and asked whence we came, about our condition, and whither we were going, and for our passport. To which we answered and presented him with the passport, which I had drawn up during the night, [and] which was acknowledged as good. He remained sitting with us an hour or two, asking about what [there] was new in our fatherland, and what we might have experienced on our way. We related to him that [which] was known to us. After he had discoursed and inquired about one thing and another, we asked him, if this might not be the

[69] *Stilisera*, really to compose or write out in a flourishing manner, but here, to translate. *Vår sigills cupa.* The official wax seal, placed in a wooden case for protection, was often so attached that it could be easily removed from a document and affixed to another. It was usual for the authorities at Stockholm to employ Swedish in such cases. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 30.

[70] Don Philipo Disalago. For a short history of the Canaries (Islas Canarias), see *Encl. Univ. Il.* (Barcelona), XI, 27 ff.

Large Canary [Island], where we are now. He answered: "Yes, but how have you then sailed," said he, "that you do not know where you are?" We referred again to the dark weather which we had for a long time, as the reason that we got so far out of our course, because we were not able to make observations [during all that long time]. "Yes, that may be so," replied the Spanish Governor, "there has been a violent storm [here] and much dark weather now for some time past." We treated and entertained him and all his attendants, with the best we had on board. Afterwards he asked us whether we had anything with us in our ship that could be of service to him. To this we replied we did not know what it could be, as we had no other cargo than people and provision. Then the Spanish governor asked whether we had any fine linen or smoked ham or suchlike, which with them is considered a great rarity. Then Commissioner Rijsingh (whom we titled and honored as our governor, on account of the foreigners) called his secretary and ordered him to bring out two pieces of fine Holland linen and 8 pieces of nice smoked hams, which he presented to the Spanish Governor, which he accepted with the greatest thanks, as a greater gift than if he had been presented with several hundred pieces of Spanish dollars.[71] Among other things he stated that never before had any Swedes been on the Great Canary [Island]. When he finally bade us farewell we asked permission for our people to land to take in refreshments, while we were lying

[71] *Några hundrade stijcken von Achten förährade i dee Spanskes Richzdaler.*

at anchor. "Yes indeed," he replied, "gladly, with all my heart, everything that exists here, oranges, lemons, sweet oranges, potatoes, bananas, Canary sugar, syrup, Canary wine, tobacco, etc., and everything you desire and wish for,—it is difficult to enumerate all the good things that grow in this country,—but it shall be at your service and all good will."[72] He also invited Mr. Rijsingh to his palace. When he now left the ship a double Swedish salute was given on our ship the *Öhrn,* which was answered from the galleys with a double Spanish salute. When the Governor had gone some distance the Spanish galleys gave another salute, whereupon we again answered from the ship *Öhrn* with double Swedish salute.

In the afternoon Commissioner [Rijsingh] with all of our principal men went to the city of Canary on account of its great reputation.[73] Inasmuch as we represented Mr. Rijsingh as our Governor, it followed that we officers should show him the honor due a Governor, which we also did. When we now arrived in the city, the people there began much to murmur and collect in masses, picking up stones to stone us with, whereby many of our people were badly injured. Thereupon Mr. Rijsingh sent me and Lieutenant Gyllengren to the Spanish Governor, at the palace, to complain that we could have no peace in the streets. The Governor immediately called one of his principal officers, whom he instructed to command an officer, who

[72] At your disposal.

[73] Las Palmas. The handsome cathedral was not completed when Lindeström was there. The city is today, as it was in Lindeström's time, renowned for its beauty, and the palms are still characteristic.

should, with several drummers and beating drums, go all around the city and at the entrance of all the streets, to proclaim peace upon us and [announce] that if any person dared in any manner, whether in one way or another, to touch or attack us, he should forfeit his life. After that we could walk about the streets in peace. Lodgings were engaged for all of us with the Consul or Burgomaster, there in the city, named Hieronymus Lievent,[74] who was a German by birth. The same day we engaged a Frenchman who should, while we were in the Canaries, be our interpreter. And the one who knew Latin, found it easy to speak with them,[75] for nearly all the principal men there in the city knew Latin, as the Spanish language itself is much like Latin. In the evening the Spanish Governor sent one of his officers down to our lodging in the city and invited Mr. Rijsingh and all of us officers to himself in the palace for dinner the next day, not to any food such as meat, fish, bread or such [things], but only to a hundred courses of mere sweetmeats of the fruits that grow there on the Canary [Island], also several kinds of wine, which can be had in the Canaries.

The 22nd of March we were, through the Governor's messengers, taken to the palace to the ban-

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[74] Lievent is possibly a mistake; at least it is not a usual German name. I do know of Levan. See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII, 7, 265, Daniel Levan, Peter Levan, etc.

[75] *och den hade gått att tala weed dem som kunde latin.* The obvious translation would be: "and that one had gone to speak with those who knew Latin"; but this interpretation is not possible, as can be seen from the context. Lindeström's idea is undoubtedly this: *och den, som kunde latin, hade godt (lätt) att tala vid (med) dem;* and the one who knew Latin found it easy to speak with them.

quet to which he had invited us last evening. For which [purpose] as many negroes were ordered with shades[76] as we were officers [to accompany us to the palace]; one negro who carried his shade above the head of each officer, as a protection for our heads against the heat of the sun. These shades are made like a large cone, and down at their lower part [are] as wide as the bottom of a large cask. [They] are made of sackcloth, and dyed, some red, green, blue, yellow or whatever color that is preferred on it, with painted stars inside of the cone, a large silk tuft with dyed taffeta,[77] 3 ells long, fastened to the bottom[78] of the cone above, with which a long painted pole is tied fast. This pole the negro holds with both hands and walks back of the man he is to shade, from the heat of the sun, and thus carries the shade so that it hangs right over the head of the man. We were so magnificently treated at the Spanish Governor's [palace], that the pen cannot describe it,[79] nor have we ever seen such a sumptuous dinner with only sweetmeats or could ever believe that it would be possible to find them growing in one land alone. This dinner was served in 4 courses, each course [consisting of] 25 dishes and [they] were carried in on covered silver platters, so that there were in all finally 100 dishes of sweetmeats. When Commissioner Rijsingh expressed his astonishment at the many [varieties of] delicious fruit, growing in the Canaries, the

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[76] *Absconser, ambitu.*
[77] *färgat taft.*
[78] Point or top of the cone.
[79] *att pennan det eij fatta kan att beskrijfwa.*

7. "Negroes were ordered with shades, carried above the head of each officer as a protection against the sun." See p. 46. This custom like the transportation by *tipoia* is apparently of American origin. From De Bry, *Voyages.*

8. "We got many of the flying fish. . . . They flew against the sails and fell down thereby on the upper deck." See p. 63. From De Bry, *Voyages.*

Spanish Governor said: "Well these 100 kinds of fruit I have offered you are the principal kinds of fruit, which grow here in the country; but if I should also have the common ones prepared, which grow here in the country, I could undoubtedly double the number of dishes of only fruit.[80]

During the time of the dinner trumpets were blown and kettle-drums were beaten. When it came to drinking toasts, the Spanish Governor began with the toast of Our Most Gracious Queen Christina, before that of His Royal Majesty, the King of Spain, entirely contrary to the Spanish custom, as they always used to begin with the memory of their most gracious King or potentate. At both of their Majesty's toasts double salutes were given. We were well entertained there until midnight, before we returned to our lodgings.

On the 23rd of March while we were seated at the table, during dinner, which the host had furnished with roast fowl and suchlike, a troop of monks and beautiful nuns came into our lodgings, wanting thus to clandestinely intrude upon us, as is their habit, when some foreigners come to them, to seek an opportunity to examine them [on the subject] of their religion [to see] if they are sure in their faith. When now our host, the Consul, noticed this and saw them on the stairs, he ran in a fury to the table, and grasped the dish with the fowl from the table and ran with it into an [adjoining] room. We then thought that he was not in his five senses, and wondered why he did this, although we said nothing about it. But his mind

[80] Slightly exaggerated; almost as fantastic as the banquet in Voltaire's *Il Dorado*.

was all right in its value; for although our host [now] was a good Catholic, he had formerly been a Lutheran, and the Lutheran custom [was] well known to him, that they have not renounced the eating of meat or pork during Passion Week, for then, according to the old style, it was the time of the Passion Week, when they buried Christ.[81] Later, in the second chapter, we shall see what else can be said about the Canaries and the Catholics.

Now I will return to the above, that our host had secretly prepared [the meal] for us with roast chickens and the like, according to Lutheran custom, not supposing that the monks would come. If they had discovered it, our host would have been subjected to a severe punishment and atonement. When the monks appeared at the door, we observed the intention of our host and arose immediately from the table, as if our meal was at an end, and entered into conversation with the monks and the beautiful and charming nuns, to gain their friendship, treating them with wine and sugar confects,[82] which are very cheap there. The monks were right good drinking brothers, who could do full justice to the cup.

In this connection [I] do not wish to be silent about the reason why our host embraced the Catholic religion. He came there with a ship and had no means to get on with, although he had studied industriously;[83] in whatever he did or undertook,

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[81] Old style. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 43.

[82] *tracterandes dem medh Wyn och Sockerconfecter.*

[83] *Mijcket wackert studerat hadhe;* had studied industriously, so that he was well educated.

fortune was against him and would not favor him, so that he could not advance according to his intentions. Finally he met with the wife, whom he then owned, who was a nun of large means, so that her beauty and charm as well as riches, enticed him to adopt the Catholic religion; because he could not get her unless he also embraced the Catholic religion, which finally he rather did than forsake this nun. Since then everything in this world went well with him, for, in everything he took in hand, fortune was favorable and kind to him; but how he will finally fare in eternal happiness, when that time comes, he will surely experience.

It is the practice of the monks, when any Lutherans come among them, to seduce and entice them by catching them with the following two principal nets or traps: namely, first they show the Lutherans the religious splendor in their monasteries, explain and praise them to the highest heavens. Secondly, the most beautiful, most charming and richest nuns, who are found among them, are brought before the Lutherans, so that if they cannot get them in one way they think they can capture them in another way, in their nets. Besides, the nuns among the Catholics believe that one who is married to a Lutheran who will receive the Catholic religion, shall become more blessed, holy and acceptable before God, than the one who marries a husband of her own religion. Such things the monks cause them to imagine and believe. When [a marriage of] that kind has taken place, then the monks say to the nuns: "Oh, how blessed you now may become before God, who through

your virtue, piety and beauty, bring a soul to God, which otherwise must have been eternally damned. Yes, you may truly be called *avis rara.*" For that reason the nuns aspire much after how they may be able to deceive and entice a Lutheran.[84]

The 24th of March the monks came again to us in our lodging, invited us to visit their monasteries. If we had a desire to see their splendor, we should have permission; they would go with us themselves to show and explain that which might be sacred. By this they pretended a strong affection and service to us and thereby to enlighten us, who were strangers and have seen or known nothing of such sacredness and splendor before as was found with them. Because we noticed that the monks estimated the offered honor and service to us very highly, we thanked them for it, although we knew that this would not pass by without presents and gifts. We prepared ourselves accordingly and as we had never seen the like before we followed the monks, going with them from one monastery to another, there being eleven cloisters, which they everywhere opened for us, and showed us all their splendor and explained everything in Latin, what it all was and signified.

When we had come to the last monastery one of the monks, who was an arrant rogue, said to me: "Come aside with me behind the pillars, I will show you something there." I followed him out. When we arrived there, there was nothing else to be seen but a splendid crucifix of Jesus Christ and an image of Mary, but we had seen

[84] As Lindeström was a Lutheran to the point of fanaticism, he considered Catholic proselyting as worse than deception.

more handsome and splendid [ones] in some of the other monasteries of that place from which we had just come. But his fox did not lie there,[85] but in order to get me alone to discuss with [me]. He bowed and crossed himself before the crucifix of Christ and the image of Mary; then he very impolitely addressed me, saying: "Don't you belong to the very Devil himself in hell with skin and hair, life and soul, who dare implore Christ himself without a mediator?" "You devilish monk," I replied, "you belong then to the same man and Jesus is my right mediator." "I hear very well," said the monk, "that you are crazy and out of your mind, it is not good to trifle with you." I went away from him, but the monk bowed to the crucifix of Christ and the image of Mary and immediately came after me. When he had overtaken me, he said: "Yes, I see well that you are a damned person, who neither esteems Christ's crucifix nor the image of the mother Mary; that you will not even do reverence or make a bow." "No," said I, "I have no need to bow before a wooden image, as you do. [I think] you might go into a thick forest, where you could have enough wood to bow before." "Now hear," said he, "such an insolent and hardened man. The mother Mary is the right mediator." "Hold your mouth, you great talker," answered I. "Oh," said he, "do not get so angry, and allow me to talk a little to you. I will only give you a little example." "Pray, what might that be," I replied. "That must surely be an ex-

[85] Cp. the expression: *nigger in the woodpile*. He did not take me out to show me the crucifix and the image, but to have a talk with me alone.

cellent example, which is to come from your mouth." "Well, see here," said he. "If your worldly king or queen were unkindly or unfavorably disposed toward you, and you had transgressed in some matter against them, then you would not dare to appear before their eyes, but you would certainly need to have a mediator, who obtained favor for you again and made intercession and prayer for you, before you dared show yourself before their eyes. Much less may you show yourself before the face of the heavenly King, Jesus Christ, whom you have angered and sinned against so grievously, until the mother Mary, who is the right mediator and *gratia plena*, has interceded and prayed for you for mercy and the forgiveness of sins. Is that not right and true?" "No," said I, "Jesus Christ has suffered death for mine, yours and the sins of the whole world. He is not only the right atoner but also the right mediator whom we should use." "I hear," said he, "that you are crazy and will not allow yourself to be convinced, but will remain in your madness in darkness, therefore, it is not worth while to talk with you any more about it. You still cry, like the wolf: lamb, lamb.[86] Therefore I will now go home to my [people] again. Give me something because I have guided you." I gave him half a *riksdaler*[87] and was very glad that I got rid of him with that.

Here in the Canary our ship-captain sold a Jute

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[86] An allusion to the story of the wolf and the lamb. The idea is that whatever the monk might say, Lindeström would have a ready answer for it.

[87] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

as a slave, whom he took on board in the sound at Helsingeur,[88] an audacious rascal who did not care for either life or soul. He received 400 *riksdaler* for him, but to be paid in Canary sugar, at 2 *öre* s. m. per pound.[89] And [the captain] thus received for the said Jute 9,600 pounds of sugar, beside some casks of syrup into the bargain, about which the rascally Jute did not even think it was [a] bad [thing] or felt sorry, but stood and laughed at it and said: "I must be a very fine fellow, to be worth so much or cost so big money, where I am to come into service." The poor fellow in a short time experienced what his service was to be, namely, to secure for his lord and master half a *riksdaler* daily as long as he lived. He could get it wherever he pleased, either through labor or stealing, about which his master did not care. The days are long and the people expensive to hire there,[90] so that he can easily earn the money in the day.[91] But he must not be a lazy fellow. If he does not deliver to his master the said [amount of] money he will let him be placed in the stall and the skin taken off his back. Besides this said Jute, the captain also had a negro, whom he had intended to sell. But this fellow died a few days before we arrived at Canary.[92]

In some of the public houses here in Canary one can be treated most sumptuously with sugar con-

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[88] *En Juute*, a man from Jutland, Denmark, taken on board at Helsingör.

[89] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

[90] Wages are high.

[91] That is, by labor rather than by stealing at night.

[92] Traffic in slavery on a small scale was not uncommon among those who did not follow it as a profession.

fects and Canary wine for one *real* (1:6 *öre* s. m., being the value of the Spanish *real*).[93] The Canary wine is unadulterated there, strong as brandy, for which reason when the Spaniards drink a glass of Canary wine, they drink immediately after a glass of cold, clear spring water, and [they] said that it was thus most wholesome, but [they do] not mix the wine and the water together. Here in Sweden the Canary wine is not so strong, but more sweet and pleasant to drink, for the reason that it is very much adulterated on the way, in that a great amount of water and sugar is mixed [with it], which cannot be called unadulterated wine, but rather a compound or mixture.[94]

Here in the Canary the Spaniards also use their peculiar style and manner of dress, which differs widely from the fashions of other nations, particularly and principally [that of] the women, who veil and envelope their heads so that only one eye is seen;[95] besides they wear such wide skirts with hoops[96] under [them], so that I can safely say, that there is no door in any house in Sweden so wide, that they can go through with their skirts without opening the large gate of the house for them, [and] even then they would barely be able to sail through them, [and I] fear that they would have to reduce their petticoats before they could get through.

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[93] *Real*, a small silver (or nickel) coin still used in several Spanish-speaking countries.

[94] Exportation of Canary wines to Sweden was of small importance at this time, and possibly wines so labeled were not from the Canaries at all.

[95] See *N. B* below.

[96] *Hiord (gjord)*, girth, girt, hoop, bracer (cp. mod. Sw. gördel).

They do not use beds and bed clothes in the Canaries like those [used] in cold countries, but their bedsteads are constructed like field beds, that they can be screwed together and unscrewed again. And the mattresses[97] are of red skins, stuffed with cotton to the thickness of a hand's breadth, red skin cushions for pillows, lastly sheets for covers and coverlets. Such are their bed clothes made. This the principal [people] there in that country use, but the common [people] use mats under themselves. No feather beds can be used in that place on account of the unbearable heat.

N. B.: During Passion Time, the Spanish women, as is related, when they go in mourning clothes for our Lord Christ, they veil their faces so that no more than one eye is seen, but between times they go with bare faces, and with their long slightly plaited hoods hanging on their heads.

Here in Canary, on the 24th,[98] our interpreter, the Frenchman, nearly brought about my death through a treacherous and deceitful design, about a trifling affair, not worth mentioning. It happened in this manner: This Frenchman knew that I intended soon after to go out into the city. Therefore he placed himself in ambush behind the corner of our lodging house, in the street that I was to pass, to watch my arrival, with a drawn lance[99] in [his] hand. Now when I, not knowing of any evil, came to this corner of the house, the

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[97] *Sängekläder*, really means bed-clothes, and the word is so used above, but mattress is obviously meant here, unless it means blanket or covering, something like the German bolster.

[98] 24th of March.

[99] *een dragen Stockadhe j handen*.

other [fellow] turned towards me with his lance[100] and, did not hit me, as was my fortune, otherwise than between my arm and left side. At this furious attack I could not retreat more than one step, but not possibly so much that I could get out my sword, as he immediately followed. And as he now saw that I did not immediately fall from the [thrust of the] rapier, he noticed indeed that he had missed me. But I on the other hand in my quick retreating gave a hard blow with my left arm behind my back, through which his lance broke [in two]. Then I caught him by the hair, threw him down under me in the street and finally got hold of the hilt of the lance with its remaining stump, with which hilt I beat him so in the face and on his head, that he no longer resembled a human being. At which he cried out loudly for help, [causing] many people with their rapiers to gather about me, who lay on top of the other; all crying out: "Murder, murder, stab him, or strike him dead." Then my landlord, the Consul, came running with his lance and rapier in excitement; the Swedes also came with their swords and saved me. Immediately afterwards I went to the castle and made a complaint to the Spanish Governor against the said Frenchman, who was imprisoned in the castle and punished by running the gauntlet 6 times through two companies.

Here in the Canary it is easy to strike a man dead, if not more were to be feared from the punishment of God than from man. For in the marketplace at the fountain a crucifix is erected.

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[100] Thrust at me with his lance.

Now the one who happens to kill a person or strike him dead, then it is their law and justice that if he can run to and reach the crucifix of Christ, fall before it on his knees and touch it with his hands, he is free from all earthly punishment and persecution, but if they are able to capture him before he reaches the Crucifix of Christ, falls on his knees before it and touches it, then he must be punished. But I will assure you that through this he cannot escape the righteous punishment of God.

CONCERNING THE CANARY SUGAR AND HOW THE SUGAR-CANE GROWS IN CANARY, NAMELY:

It grows in the fields of the plantations like sown or planted grain, close together like the reeds here in Sweden, with stalks about 4 ells long or high. In thickness and the appearance of the joints [they resemble] the thick Spanish cane, but green outside and white inside. On each joint [there is] a little outgrown knob, but on the very top a bush of long, pointed leaves, like sword grass.[101] Inside they appear rich and porous,[102] just like the soft soap, full of sweet juice, and whoever sucks out this juice and eats [it] he will surely afterwards have to expect a good purgation, as many of our [people] experienced, who were very fond of it. However, it becomes harmless after being boiled. Yes, many of our people also were so curious about tasting everything which grows there that they lost their lives

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[101] *Swerdshwassen.*
[102] *froodige och barotte (frodiga och porösa).*

through it. For there grow many plants, which are only poisonous; when one breaks off the stalks [of a certain kind of these plants], something oozes out like a white milk, which is the most powerful and virulent poison which can ever be found.

ON THE NATURE AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUGAR MILLS AND THE PRESSING, BOILING AND DRYING OF THE CANARY SUGAR[102a]

The sugar-mills are built thus: Outside of the mill runs a little brook, therein on a bottom[103] are placed two large upright timbers[104] two ells thick[105] and 6 ells high, which turn on thick iron spindles, which are well and securely bolted and driven into the ends of the upright standing thick timbers. In the horizontal beams above and below are thick and strong sockets inserted, in which the spindles run with steel pans below, in which the lower spindle stands like the long iron in our flour mills. Around each of these timbers, about ¼ of an ell from the bottom where they stand, are strong cogs such as there usually are on cog wheels; which cogs by means of a [crown] wheel on the side [connected with the water wheel] and the force of the water upon it, cause these heavy upright timbers to revolve against one another, one to the right, the other to the left. And these timbers do not revolve in a space further apart from one another than about the thickness of a

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[102a] For sugar making at the time, see Ogilby, *America*, 504.
[103] *Bottn, (botten)*, bottom; here foundation.
[104] *Stockar*, logs, timbers; here cylinders.
[105] *twå fambnars tiocke*, two ells in circumference.

9. Sugar-mill, showing the "large upright timbers" and the "cog wheels." See p. 58. From Ogilby, *America.*

10. Sugar-mill, hand-power type, showing pressing of cane and boiling of sugar. See p. 59. From Ogilby, *America.*

finger. A large trough[106] runs from these timbers down to the sugar-house, [a distance] which may be about 6 ells between the timbers and the sugar-house; and again [there is] a smaller trough from it to the pan, in which the sugar is boiled. In the sugar-house stands a very large copper kettle, walled in, and at a little distance from it a large vat.[107] Now when the sugar-cane is gathered in from the plantation it must be quickly pressed out and boiled, otherwise it will dry up in the cane, so that no use can be had from it.

This[108] [work] is done as follows: A number of slaves and negroes are engaged, who carry the sugar-cane from the plantation up to the press, as fast as they can, and deposit their loads there. Then two black men are ordered to the press, the one on the one side of the press, who feeds the sugar-cane to the press,[109] the other on the other side, who takes the sugar-canes [as they come through] and removes them, so that they do not interfere with the press. When they[110] have once gone through the press there is no more juice in them. The sugar-juice, which the press squeezes and presses out, the same flows through the above mentioned trough, from the press down to the sugar-house or sugar-factory, into the walled-in kettle or pan, where the juice is to be boiled

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[106] *Renna*, a conduit of wood. Trough, Swedish, *tråg*, really means an open, long wooden receptacle, but it is also used in the sense of a long, open wooden conduit, such as was formerly placed under the eaves of a house to lead away the rain water.

[107] *Kopperpanna*, copper pan, kettle; *kaar*, tub, vat.

[108] The original has *hwilket*, which.

[109] *som förer socker rören emellan pressen*, who passes the sugar-cane between [the cylinders of] the press.

[110] The canes.

[down] to sugar. When this pan is filled with the sugar-juice, the trough is removed and then put on some tub, [into which the juice is allowed to run], until the juice in the kettle has been boiled to sugar, which takes place very soon; just as if we wanted to boil beer-posset, and after being boiled it really behaves and looks like beer-posset. The sugar then floats on top like cheese and the syrup settles at the bottom. Then a tub is moved there, on which is placed a little trough, and the other end [of the trough], under the spigot, which is attached down at the bottom of the pan or kettle, like those copper spigots, which [can be] turned. This spigot is then turned open. Then the syrup, which is below the sugar, flows out and through the trough down into the tub, until nothing else is seen in the pan but the pure sugar. Then the spigot is closed again and it[111] is left to thicken. When it is thought to have thickened enough, it is scooped out and put into conical moulds and then placed in the sunshine to dry. When this sugar has been hardened in the moulds it is taken out of the form by beating and shaking and again the cones are placed in the sun to dry till they become hard. Then they are taken in and [it] is then real good Canary sugar. Then one can in this manner continue to boil as long as there is any sugar-juice in store.

A Clerk in the Sugar Business in Canary has in yearly salary 6000 pounds of Canary sugar, but [this] is not valued in Canary for more than two *öre* s. m. per pound, [which] amounts to 250 *riks-*

[111] The sugar.

daler.[112] Linen there in the Canaries, both fine and coarse, is very expensive. I sold there a shirt of fine Silesian [linen],[113] such as costs 6 *daler* c. m. an ell here in Sweden, also two long scarfs of cloister-linen[114] and two *armekläden med. äckror uti*[115] and for these articles I received 120 pounds of Canary sugar and one barrel[116] of syrup into the bargain, which I considered a good trade.

Herewith I will now once more return to our [West] Indian journey again.

The 26th of March we weighed anchor, set sail, gave salute and bid good-night to Great Canary, sailing from that place with a northeast wind and southwest by west toward the Eastern Passage.

The 29th of March we were in the Eastern Passage, where the wind blows constantly from the East and has continued so from the beginning of the world, and will probably continue so, to the

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[112] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

[113] Slessingh (?).

[114] *twå långe halzdukar; closterlerfft.* Cloister-linen, probably a certain kind of linen made in the cloisters or at one time made there. Cloister was compounded with a large number of words in English in the 16th and 17th centuries in this way. Perhaps nunnery-linen might also be used here.

[115] Dr. T. Berg of the Royal Archives, Stockholm, writes me that "*ärmekläden med äckror uti* [har] ej kunnat paträffas. Med *ärmekläde* förstods enligt Svenska akademiens ordbok ursprungligen en duk, som bars om armen, men sedan vanligen helt enkelt en näsduk. I vissa bygdemål betecknade uttrycket enligt samma källa 'ett slags förr af allmogekvinnor buret halskläde l. dok' . . . *Äckror* är möjligen pluralisform av *eker (hjuleker)*, vilket ord enligt Svenska akademiens ordbok även kan skrivas *ekra* och i pluralis t. ex. i Rudbecks Atlantica förekommer med stavningen *äckror*. Om ordets betydelse i sammanställningen *ärmekladen med äckror uti* vågar riksarkivet icke göra någon som hälst gissning."

It is possible that Lindeström means a kind of wide, hoodlike scarf, that was fastened around the neck and head with loops and short pins (resembling the spokes of a wheel), taking the place of buttons.

[116] *Faat (fat).*

end of the world; otherwise, it would not be possible to get to West India, for if the wind there and elsewhere should reverse one would be so long on the journey, that no ship could take so much provisions for the people who make the voyage, that it would last. Wherefore in that as well as in all other [things, it] is arranged wonderfully by God, all for the advantage and benefit of men.

In the Western Ocean there are two passages, one where the East wind blows always and in the other the West wind blows continuously. When the voyage to West India is to be made, then one looks for the Eastern Passage, but in sailing from [West] India, then one looks for the Western Passage. In these passages all the sails can be set to the top, the foretop gallant as well as the others, for while sailing in these passages one need not fear any storm or tempest, but there generally blows a gentle and even wind (except the hurricane, whose danger I have touched upon above in my preface).[117]

We sailed night and day before the wind the whole way to the Carribean Islands. But such very great swell waves run in these passages, that one wave can impel and drive the ship onward the distance of ¼ mile,[118] and when the ships come abreast and near together the top flag can sometimes scarcely be seen from one ship to the other, on account of the height of the waves. In the Eastern Ocean the waves follow each other three by three, but in the Western Ocean, two by two in succession.

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[117] See above.

[118] Swedish or German miles. See above, note 13 (Chapt. I).

When we were in the Eastern Passage, we got many of the flying fish, which had wings nearly like those of the bats. When it began to fly, several 1000 flew up out of the water together, and [they] could fly for a distance of 2 or 3 miles at a stretch; not that they could move and swing themselves into the air with their wings like birds, but [they] flew like a shot from a bow straight forward with outstretched wings.[119] When they came in their course towards the ship, they flew against the sails and fell down thereby on the upper deck and thus we caught them. This fish resembles a mackerel in shape and thus with waves on the back, yet a little spotted at times, like the small spotted salmon trout.[120]

In this passage we harpooned an unspeakable number of fish before the figurehead[121] of the ship, namely, sea-dogs or sea-hogs.[122] When they are seen in great numbers, and [when] the whale[s] squirt water into the air,[123] then surely a great storm is to be expected in other parts of the ocean, but here in the passage, we were (God be praised) free from it. The aforesaid sea-hogs were cooked

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[119] Cp. the picture and legend of the flying fish in Bry, *Americæ, Pars Quarta*, II, *Pisces in mari alati*. See also Berendt. Lindeström's description is accurate and shows close observation. His statement about the distance of their flight, however, is greatly overestimated. Scientists maintain that the fish cannot fly over 500 feet on a stretch.

[120] The flying fish Lindeström describes were some species of the *Exocoetus callopterus;* while those given by Bry are of the *Dactylopterus volitans.*

[121] *Gallionen (gabiot)*, beak head.

[122] *Siöhundar eller siöswijn.*

[123] The passage is obscure in the original, due to a mistake or omission. *När the låta sigh mycket see, sampt hwalfisken spruta*, etc., probably stands for: *när the låta sigh mycket see sampt* [*när*] *hwalfisken spruta*[*r*], etc.

for the people on the ship, and [it] is a coarse food. The fat, when it is cooked, looks as white as a cheese; the meat on the contrary is as black as coal.

One kind [of fish], which is called Dolphin or Delphin, this we caught with a drag line;[124] it was a fish from 4 to 5 ells long, and in breadth according to the proportion of its form, broad and thin, to be compared to or resembling the carp here with us in Sweden, although its size [as compared] to the Delphin is not to be considered except as a dung-beetle to an ox; but [it has] such gold glittering colors on its scales as a carp. This fish,[125] when it is cooked, is quite a natural fish and agrees very well with a person.

Sea crabs we caught with a draw net,[126] which was constructed with a wide, thin and round iron ring around the upper part,[127] so that it could instantly and rapidly sink a fathom or 7[128] into the sea. A piece of water soaked meat was tied to the net, which could quickly be let down and drawn up again, that we could thereby easily collect a large quantity [of crabs] daily. Shrimps were moving

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[124] *Dragh*, trolling line.

[125] *Hwilken*, which, in the original. Lindeström of course believed that the dolphin was a fish.

[126] *Håff (håv)*, really dip-net on a long handle, but here dip-net without a handle; perhaps drag-net or casting-net would be a good term. Nets of a somewhat similar character were used on the Delaware for about 250 years, but are no longer employed. The throw-net was similar and used very much in the same manner. See Paper read by Warren Fretz before the Bucks County Historical Society, June 18, 1921, on *Old Methods of Taking Fish*, published in the *Bucks County Intelligencer*, June 29, 1921. (Clipping kindly lent to me by Col. Henry D. Paxson, of Philadelphia.)

[127] *omkringh den öfwersta widden.*

[128] or 7 [fathoms].

up in the water[129] so thick that the water could not be seen for them, which we also caught with a draw net more finely knitted but similar to the former. This was sunk only about an ell in the water, as fast as we could throw it into the water and draw it out again, so that we could catch of this kind of fish, as much as we ever desired to have.

Concerning the Sea-Cows[130] *and the Charming Voice of the Sirens,* by which many a person is deceived, I wish to speak somewhat here. These [creatures] are seen and heard more in the channels than in any other places in the Western Ocean, before [the approach of] storms and bad weather; although it is generally beautiful, calm and moderate weather in the channels, yet soon after their appearance, storms and bad weather will surely rage elsewhere in the ocean.

Then[131] the mermaid floats on the water, with gold glittering hair, 10 or 12 fathoms in length, which is dragging after her (which to our eyes does not appear longer, but it is perhaps much longer), glittering very beautifully against the sun. At times she sat on top of the water and could be seen to her middle very charming and bright, with a mirror in her hand.[132] And then when she allows herself to be seen thus, the

[129] *ther uppe j wattnet*, here means: near or practically on the surface of the water.

[130] Sea-cow, cow-fish, perhaps Steller's sea-cow, a name of later origin, however. They are said to have been long extinct.

[131] That is, when she appears.

[132] The mermaid of Germanic folk-lore with her golden hair and mirror in her hand. Cf. Heine's *Lorelei, Undine* by Fouqué, etc., Shakespeare refers to mermaids in several of his dramas in terms which show that the age believed implicitly in the existence of these creatures. *"But lest myself be guilty to self-wrong, I'll stop mine ears against the mermaid's song."*

sirens[133] appear also, playing on all kinds of instruments which harmonize so charmingly, that one might be tempted to jump into the ocean on account of it, yes, so that [even] that which had no life would have to dance from it, believing the Kingdom of Heaven was about to approach. Some of our [people were so much affected] by this delightful playing that they jumped into the sea, those who were sick and particularly those who were affected with delirium. Some of those who jumped into the sea in the daytime we got [out] again, but we could rescue none of those who jumped through the portholes at night.[134] There it was of great consequence to pray to God for his merciful protection and shelter.

The 10th of April a ship council was held, how we could further direct our voyage, as it was found that there were 230 and some persons sick on the ship *Öhrn,* and it was impossible to hold out until [we could reach] New Sweden without [procuring] refreshments. It was therefore resolved to sail to the Island of St. Christopher[135] for fresh water and other necessities for the people.

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[133] The sirens of antiquity. These correspond to the mermaids of Germanic or Nordic folk-lore. In classical literature they were localized and limited in number (Homer has two, later writers added one more, making three, one of the magic numbers in folk-lore and mythology). One apparently was mortal and died, for her tomb was shown at Naples. In the Middle and early Modern Ages they increased in number and were "seen and heard in many places in the ocean." In other words, the old classical myth was mixed with the old Nordic myth, resulting in a somewhat new conception.

[134] Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 485ff.

[135] Several of the Swedish ships in the service of the New Sweden Company touched at St. Christopher, *Kalmar Nyckel* in the summer of 1638, the *Katt* in August, 1648. See note 155 below (Chapt. I).

On this our ship *Öhrn* the people were then afflicted with some violent and contagious diseases, such as heartburn, fever and ague, dysentery[136] and women who gave birth to children, so that there was such lamentation and misery, yes, lamentation above lamentation, so that a person, even if he had a heart of stone would have felt sorrow and grief on account of the miserable condition.

While our condition was the most miserable the Turk approached us with three of his ships to attack and molest us. How it turned out you shall observe shortly. Herewith the proverb is verified: *"Nulla calamitas solo."* Everyone can imagine, where such a multitude of people are packed and crowded together, as was the case on this our ship, and [when] such infectious diseases in addition gain a foothold, how they then might infect one another. [Thus] many died in consequence of it, yes, frequently, when the roll was called in the morning, there would be 3, 6, 8 or 9 corpses, which one after the other would be laid out on board, and after the clergyman had thrown three shovels of ashes on them and performed a ceremony, they were shoved overboard and their grave was dug deep enough for them. The bodies were sewn into sheets or skins and stones or iron balls tied to the feet and arms so that they might sink the faster, that the fishes might not swallow them up;[137] but it is not likely that they could come to any bottom before they became food for the fishes. For the Hollanders have tried to reach the

[136] *Brennesjukan, frånssan, röödsootan, yrsotan (yrsel), yr,* dizzy and *sot,* illness.

[137] That sharks would not eat them.

bottom of the Western Ocean, and for that purpose [have] sent out four or five ships laden only with rope, all of which rope they let out, but yet [they] found no bottom.[138]

But now to [return to] my former account. After the bodies, as has been related, were buried, if they were those of officers, a couple of cannons were discharged and afterwards two volleys from the muskets, but, if the body was [that of] a common soldier, then a little volley of two rounds with muskets; that was the bells for their tolling and burial. It could not have been otherwise than that many people would be sick, partly because they were too closely packed together in the unnatural[139] heat of the sun, and it was so very warm on the upper deck that indeed one could have fried a herring in the sun. Besides this, the common people, had no clean linen for a change, so that (speaking with respect) much vermin grew in their clothes, so that these beasts tortured and tormented them terribly.[140] Besides they had to content themselves with coarse and rotten victuals, such as entirely decayed fish; putrid water to drink, so that it stank like the worst of carrion, in which[141] grew long worms, so tough that we could draw it[142] out to the length of an ell and [it][142] hung together like a twisted thread; by which sickness could surely be caused. Therefore, after call-

[138] These early attempts by the Dutch to sound the ocean were apparently not known to the writer of the article in the *Encl. Brit.* (1911), XIX, 970.

[139] *Onaturliga*, unnatural, but here unusual.

[140] *Bett*, sting, bite, vermin. *Fräta*, really means to corrode, to eat into, to cauterize.

[141] In the water.

[142] The water.

ing the roll in the morning we had to distribute ½ *mysk* of brandy to each person for refreshment.[143]

Water has this characteristic, that it putrifies three times in succession, and between each time it putrifies, there may be about eight days, during which it tastes clean and fresh again, but after it has putrified a third time, it never putrifies any more, but remains clear, beautiful, sweet and pleasant to drink; but it is to be lamented that it did not last so long on our ship that it could become putrid three times, before it was consumed.[144]

I, for my part, have great reason to thank God, who[145] was not sick on that voyage. But when we arrived in New Sweden, I was 9 days confined to bed, owing to the strange and unaccustomed air of the country, which I, in the beginning, could not endure, but after I became accustomed to it, I enjoyed (God be praised) such good health there, as ever I would or could desire.

The 11th of April the Turk came with three ships, wishing to attack us in a hostile manner. When we first observed these three ships early in the morning, we could not immediately see what ships they might be, because they were yet a great distance away from us out in the sea, but about two hours afterwards, when they came nearer to us and pursued us hard, then we saw with [our] telescope that they were Turkish ships. Then we

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[143] Early mercantile reports are full of accounts about putrid water and its effect on the seamen and passengers.

[144] Dr. Berg, of the Royal Archives, Stockholm, suggests that *Mysk* refers to a flavor mixed with alcohol, perhaps myskmadran or some other herb.

[145] "I . . . who was not sick." The above order is Lindeström's.

beat alarm quickly and prepared ourselves for battle. There was such misery upon misery with us on our ship among our people, as above stated, that we hardly knew in a hurry what to take hold of to make a resistance against the enemy. And our cannon around the portholes[146] we could not in such excitement touch or use, because there was such an enormous amount of trumpery packed in between and above the cannon, up under the roof, with the people's boxes, chests, tubs[147] and all sorts of other [things] which one cannot enumerate. But the two largest guns that were in the gun room[148] and four small ones which stood on the upper deck, these we made up our minds to play with, since there was no other way in such haste. [We] then had all the sick people carried on deck, even if they were half dead, every man had to go up, and only hold a gun in their hands, if they could do no more; but those who had not enough strength to stand were propped up and supported between two healthy men and so close together that the sick could lean on those who were well. When all the men were thus stationed in order on the upper deck, weapons, such as muskets, sword belts, storm-clubs, "storm-wreaths," spears and all kinds [of other implements of war][149] were carried up, which were distributed to the men, to each man such a weapon as he was able to handle and use. When this had been arranged in the best manner to suit our miserable condition and situa-

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[146] *Omgångarne.*
[147] *Coijor, Kistor, Tynor.*
[148] *Arklijet.* The heaviest guns were placed on the lower deck.
[149] That is the weapons used in those days for offence and defence.

tion, brandy was carried out for the people to strengthen them somewhat.

When now the Turk came so near to us that we could play with cannon upon one another, we opened fire on him with our heaviest cannon that were in the gun room, [at the same time] we laveered about a little to see what he intended to do. He also laveered and hesitated, but did not shoot, which gave us more courage, because we observed that he played with uncertainty, whether he should risk to attack us or not. We fired twice in succession at him with the same guns, yet he did not answer; for [it seems that] when he saw such a large number of men on our ship and observed that we had so heavy cannon[150] he did not dare risk an attack. Consequently, he set his course back again. We fired still two cannon after him and then continued on our [West] Indian course again, with joy, in that we so happily escaped him.

What could or would we have done against him with our miserable warriors? But God then fought for us, [so] that his design did not gain success, and struck down the courage of the Turk with blindness, in that he allowed himself to be frightened, where there really was no danger to be afraid of. If he had attacked us with courage, he could easily have taken us prisoners. He had no cause whatever to be alarmed, for we were entirely too weak, and unable to make any resistance, or do him any injury. But God protected us par-

[150] The Swedish cannon were probably the most efficient in Europe at this time, and their reputation was world-wide. The guns on the *Öhrn* probably had a much longer range than those of the enemy. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 34.

ticularly and would not so have it that we should fall into the hands of such cruel tyrants. Wherefore God be continually praised and glorified, who delivers His own so wonderfully out of danger.[151]

When this [affair] had passed, we had thanksgiving on the ship, and later the people were treated to something from our stock of provision we then had on hand. God prevented the Turk from having any knowledge of our miserable condition, otherwise it would soon have been entirely at an end with us.[152] I would remark concerning this affair, if one's enemy could always precisely know the condition of his adversary, so he could, when the advantage were at hand, watch the time and take up arms, and when any mischief threatened, he could do his best to escape from it in a proper manner; then it would be fine to be a warrior and conduct a war.

The 15th of April in the morning, at the break of day, we were near the Carijbes Islands and on the same day we sailed to these Islands, namely: Ladescadam, Martinicam, Mariagalantam, Dominicam, Guadalopam, Sante Croix and several islands situated around there, which were found on the sides of this our course, in the same part [of the ocean] which it seems needless to describe or

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[151] There was a general fear of the Turks among travellers at this period, due to stories and legends. Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*. II, 487, 493.

[152] *medh oss warit Caputt.* The construction in Lindeström is bad and the passage is obscure, but the above rendering undoubtedly gives the correct sense. Lindeström's use of *caputt (kaput)* is probably from the German, or influenced by the German idiom, although he may have had it direct from the French *être capot.*

name, as they did not lay in our course or passage.[153]

The 16th of April we arrived at the English port on the Island Saint Christopher, where we cast anchor and it was on the Sunday entirely calm weather. The English bombarded us merrily,[154] until they obtained information of what nation we were. Captain Sven Schüte was then sent with our passport to the English governor, Mr. Everit,[155] by name, and at the same time to ask for permission for us to take in supplies, which was granted to us, and [he] received our emissary captain very well.

When we arrived in port, we had out a long strong line with a large fish hook following the ship, which[156] was swallowed by a monstrously large fish, called shark. This same fish is also in the habit of swallowing people. After we had pulled and dragged this [fish] to the ship, none of our sailors ventured to snare or tie the same in the water, so that we could hoist it upon the ship, although our Ship-Captain, Bockshorn, offered them much for it.

Now, two English vessels were lying at anchor in port, [and] when they perceived what we had to pull and tug at, 4 of their sailors, audacious

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[153] Martinique, Marie Galante, Dominica, Guadaloupe, etc.

[154] Blocquerade, really to blockade, but see above, p. 41.

[155] This was apparently Colonel Clement Everard. See *Cal. of State Papers*, Colonial Series, 1574–1660, pp. 436, 443, etc; pp. 522, 557 (index). Lindeström was unfamiliar with "Everard" and hence mistook "Everit" for the former. St. Christopher was colonized simultaneously by the French and English in 1625, and held jointly by them for some time. The island passed entirely to the English in 1713.

[156] "The fish hook . . . which,"

fellows, came to us, who could float on the water like geese; these presented themselves and offered to ensnare the fish, if they would get 8 *rixdaler* for their trouble, which the ship-captain promised them. Upon this they undressed themselves, jumped into the water with ropes, seated themselves all in a row astride on [the back of] the fish; but the fish gave them all a ride in a row,[157] striking the water, so that one flew here and another there, like a jackdaw in the wind, far out in the water. Without hesitation they came immediately swimming back again, seating themselves on the fish as before, but the fish threw them off in a similar manner. This they repeated 5 times in succession, but the 6th time the game was won, when with skill they got the snares around him. Thereupon those on the ship began to hoist it up and the shark was so large and heavy that 60 men were able [only] with considerable trouble and labor to hoist it onto the upper deck, where it was then cut into pieces, so that the oil could be boiled out of it; of which Ship-Captain Bockshorn obtained so much oil, that he did not lose on the eight *rixdaler* spent [on it].

In the evening all of us officers went ashore to refresh ourselves and engaged lodgings there at the house of a rich councillor.

This is a very fertile island, [and] there grow oranges, lemons, sweet oranges, potatoes, bananas,[158] sugar, tobacco, nutmegs, walnuts, chestnuts, grapes, red, blue, white and brown, pepper,

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[157] All at the same time.

[158] *Plantanes.* The Spanish *plantano*, a kind of large banana, sometimes twelve inches or more in length.

ginger, and an innumerable quantity of all kinds of valuable and rare fruit. Ginger lay there in the fields in large heaps, like tumbled-over houses thrown together; if it was not carefully looked after and dug out in the fields, it would become so firmly and strongly rooted in, that it prevented all other fruit and roots from growing. On the ground all over, the fields were covered with oranges, lemons, pepper and all other kinds of fruit, which had fallen from the trees, like hail. At this time of the year much of the fruit was entirely ripe there. We threw oranges and lemons, like snowballs, at one another. But if I now had a heap here, I should not throw them away. When I saw how the pepper grew, I remembered the saying, when a person would wish another harm, "God grant that you were as far away, as where the pepper grows."[159] Then I thought to myself: "Now I am there."

In this place it was very hot. There grew small white itching worms in our feet, with black heads, which was caused by the intolerable heat. After their stinging and biting, the itching was intolerable and the more we dug or poked in the pores with a sharp instrument, even until the blood ran out, the more it itched, which was an unhappy torment. [I] believe if we had cut pieces out of our feet, we would not have experienced any pain, on account of the violent itching.[160]

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[159] *Gå (or dra) dit pepparn växer!* Go to where the pepper grows!

[160] These worms were undoubtedly the so-called *jigger*, which "resembles the common flea of the dog and cat, from which it can be differentiated by its smaller size." Rivas, *Parasitology*, 567 ff.

Here they use shades and umbrellas just as in Canary, which slaves carry over their heads on account of the sun's heat. It was also the habit and custom of the country, that during the oppressive heat they drink strong French brandy at their meals, and between meals, mulled brandy, through which one heat should drive off the other, which is an approved prescription for it.[161] It also quenches the thirst better and more wholesomely than any other drink can do, when one is very warm and sorely thirsty, but in every thing moderation is a virtue, which should be valued and observed. There was also a kind of bread there, which was used for the common people, baked in large broad, but very thin cakes, of a kind of roots which grow on that Island, which bread is called *cassava*.[162] It looks white like milk inside and tastes somewhat dry, but can well pass in the case of hunger to support life, when one, in case of necessity, had nothing else.

One day I took upon myself to march[163] [out] and visit the English plantations there in Saint Christopher and [I] was quite alone. When I came way out in the plantations, I was somewhat curious to look around further. [I] consequently directed my march a considerable distance out into the woods. While I was thus promenading in my glory, an abominable and horrible animal, called

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[161] Something like the popular English theory that hot tea will cool the system, by its reaction. *Glödgat brennewijn*, mulled brandy, a favorite drink in Sweden on New Year's Eve.

[162] The Spanish *cazabe*, made from the roots of the yuca tree.

[163] *Marchera* is used in Swedish very much like march in English. Even in Lindeström's time a Swede would ordinarily have said: *togh jagh mig före att gåå ut och besee*, etc.

Hagedia, in the shape of a four-footed [beast] came towards me, as tall as the largest greyhound. It was quite sky-blue on the back, and blood-red under the belly, with a long broad tail dragging on the ground; this was also sky-blue on top and blood-red below. [It] had a long, large head, blue on top and red under the chin; large, fierce and hideous [looking] eyes, long jaws with large, long and white teeth, a large long tongue which hung out of the mouth, and [it] panted like dogs, when they are hot. The *Hagedia* went straight towards me with its gaping mouth and came thus, with its hideous colors shining and glittering in the sun, so that I really believed it was Satan himself. I never felt afraid of anything before, but at this time my courage slipped away [from me]. Whether I prayed, crossed myself, ran, or went away, yet this horrible animal continued following close after me all the way to the city. When I saw that it would not turn aside through reading the word of God, I perceived quite well that it was not the Devil; neither could I believe that such a horrible [looking] animal could exist. This animal thus remained back on the plantations just outside of the city, and glad I was to have escaped from the said animal uninjured. When I now returned to my lodgings, I related what a dreadful and dangerous [affair] had happened to me, to our host, the councillor. The host laughed heartily thereat and said: "You are not the first [person] whom these animals have thus frightened. These animals have frightened many people to death who had not seen them before, and many pregnant women have been so frightened that from the time

of their confinement, they never enjoyed good health again. No one,'' said he, ''need be afraid of these animals, though they have a horrible and hideous appearance, yet they never hurt any person. This animal is called the *Hagedia,''* said he. ''These animals are plentiful on this island. They are so tame with the people that they run after them like tame dogs. If I go up to them,'' he said, ''and hold and pat them on the back, they receive me like a dog; but they do no harm to anyone. These animals,'' he said, ''we cannot lose, or be without. If we did not have them here with us, we would all, who live on this island, have to die of poison, which abounds here; for these animals clear it away and eat it, so that it cannot injure us.''[164]

The houses on this Island are, on account of the great heat, built only of boards on square posts, the walls, as well as the roofs, and the wall boards not closer together than that one can pass a hand out and in between each board,[165] in order that the air may be able to blow in to cool the people staying within.

Here on this Island there is also an immense number of small gray quadrupeds like small mice, yet long and thin, with long tails, which run in large numbers out and in through the houses between the boards, 30, 40, 50, 60 in each flock, more or less; while the people sit at table to take their meals, these quadrupeds come in the same manner,

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[164] *Hagedia* is evidently a form of the Dutch *hagedis,* lizard. See Note, at end of chapter, p. 122.

[165] Between the edges of the boards; that is the opening between the boards, was left so wide that a hand could pass through.

unexpectedly among the people, under their arms, on the table, food and plates, crowds of them sitting and rushing over [everything], some running about in excitement, even put their snouts into the victuals in the dishes, which appeared to us Swedes singular and abominable, [we] saying: "Who can eat these victuals, which these creatures have run over and stuck their snouts into?" "Yes, indeed," answered the Englishmen, "these pretty little creatures do no harm." Upon this another flock came running over the table, of which the Englishmen took quickly two or three in their hands, put them to their mouths and kissed them and said: "What harm can these nice little animals do, they take away more poison and evil than we can ever relate."

The 17th of April, the widow of the [*former*] *Governor,* Mr. Chevallier,[166] sent an invitation to all the officers to dinner, which we accepted; where we were very well received, and sumptuously treated. After dinner we all went for entertainment to a beautiful summerhouse[167] right at the sea, which was constructed very ingeniously and pleasantly under a very large, beautiful palm-tree, to which the said lady invited us, because it was very warm and sultry in her house, where we were further treated with wine and sugar confects. On this Island were a great many parrots and Mr. Rijsingh had a silly manservant, who was called Håkan. When Mr. Rijsingh had drunk his glass he called Håkan to fill [it again]. "Håkan" was

[166] Chevalier is apparently the title which Lindeström mistook for the name. See note 169, below (Chapt. I).

[167] *Lusthws,* pleasure-house.

quickly repeated up in the palmtree. Then Rijsingh observed that a parrot was sitting up in the tree, so Rijsingh said to the servant: "I see by your eyes, that you must surely have committed some evil thing in your days, else why should Håkan be repeated in the air, when I mention you by name?" "Håkan, Håkan, confess." The parrot repeated, "Håkan, Håkan." Rijsingh said: "Do you hear, Håkan, that there is a witness against you in the air? Confess, confess, because if a notorious, great sinner refuses to make a confession and to repent, our Lord might punish the country, people, ship and cargo. Is it therefore not dangerous to have such [persons] in our company on a voyage and particularly on such a long and dangerous voyage, in which we are now engaged? I can see," said Mr. Rijsingh, "by your wanton eyes that you are guilty of adultery." "Håkan, Håkan, confess, confess." The parrot repeated: "Håkan, adultery, Håkan, adultery." "Do you not hear that witness in the air against you? I am astonished that you dare deny the truth." The servant turned pale and said: "Well, Sir, I may as well confess, that I had once connection with a sailor's wife in Gothenburg." Rijsingh said: "Well, there you see, yet you would deny it." Our preacher asked him whether he had been punished for it. "No," said the servant. "Then I will assure you," said our preacher, "that you shall be punished for it, before you shall obtain absolution." There was no weeping among us during this examination.[168]

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[168] There was plenty of merriment.

The 18th of April, Commissioner Rijsingh and I rode three miles out into the country on donkeys to [call on] the French Governor[169] and talk with him about the eighteen Swedish persons who had belonged to the party of [those on] the Ship the *Katt,* if it was really true that those persons had been so cruelly put to death, as it had been represented to us, roasted and tortured to death. This the Governor affirmed to be the truth.[170] We were very well received by this Governor and sumptuously entertained. On the way, when we rode to the French Governor, it happened that in some places there stood trees which bore fruit, which we thought were none other than almonds and they tasted like almonds. Mr. Rijsingh pulled off 6 or 7 and ate them, but I, who had to ride on a small donkey,[171] could reach only 3 which I ate. When we arrived at the Governors and were seated at the table, Mr. Rijsingh became suddenly sick, turned pale like a corpse, got up, went out and desired to go to bed. These kernels then began to operate strongly and in earnest, so that he had 8 or 9 stools. When this was over and Mr. Rijsingh came back to the Governor again, Rijsingh begged pardon, and said he did not know what he had met with. The Governor said: "I am very sorry for it, it is very unpleasant to me to see you get sick here in my house, as if I had treated you badly." "No, No Sir," said Mr. Rijsingh, "perhaps the fresh almond kernels I ate out on the road, are the cause of it." At this

[169] Chevalier de Poincy.
[170] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 488.
[171] *Een lågk åssna.* But see *ibid.,* II, 488.

the Governor laughed heartily and said: "Really, now I hear what time it is.[172] You did not hit upon the right almond kernels; what you have eaten are the purging kernels or purging nuts, which grow on our purging trees and they purge powerfully. If one now takes a good drink of wine on top of them, you will be cured of that sickness." But I, God be praised, fared well, who got only a few of them. In the evening we bade the Governor farewell and returning again to the town of Saint Christopher in the night. Here on the Island camels and asses are used.

The 19th of April, a very large Holland ox was bought for the refreshment of our people on the ship and such other articles as could be procured in the place and might be wholesome and serviceable for the common [people]. The ox cost us 1440 pounds of tobacco for the reason that all trade there is counted in tobacco, in the same way as happens with Canary sugar in Canary, a pound of tobacco at 2 *öre* s. m. This ox therefore came to 60 *riksdaler* at 6 *d.* s. m. a piece. Yet according to the agreement and contract of the purchase, the hide and internals were left with the seller and we took only the mere meat. We paid for this ox, in exchange with Holland linen and cloister linen, which was estimated dear enough for the seller. The meat of this ox sufficed only for one meal, on account of the great number of our people. The Finns, although they were sick, did not lose their meals, but were able to eat till they got out of breath, as horses and sheep do. In the evening

[172] Now I know what the trouble is.

Map of "Wirginia, Nova Suecia (New Sweden), Nova Battavia (New Netherland) [and] Nova Anglia (New England)." From original in the *Geographia*.

of the same day, we bade farewell to all our good friends in Saint Christopher and returned to our ship *Öhrn* to continue our Western Journey, in the Lord's name.

The 20th of April we weighed anchor, set sail, gave a salute and continued, in the name of Jesus, on our West Indian voyage again.

The 1st of May, during the night, we were on the coast of Virginia, which is otherwise called Gebroenlandh[173] and then there was a dreadful lightning, with frightful thunder and storming and blowing, commencing with three tremendous hard blasts of wind, which followed each other in close succession, which the seamen said were a part of the hurricane, rushing on like a shot; that we, who, not suspecting or observing any evil at hand, on account of the fine weather, which we had had on the day before, carried all our sails, even the main top gallant and topsail, [and] were surprised so suddenly and with such violence that all our sails flew out to sea, as if they had been cut from the ropes with knives. At the same time the ship was thrown over on the side, so that the whole length of the masts touched on the waves, and the people who were on the one side on the lower deck slid down upon the other people who were on the other side under the upper deck, and some of those who stood on the upper deck were thereby thrown overboard, whom we were unable to rescue. Then there was such crying, screaming and lamentation upon lamentation among the people, that we did not in the hurry know what to do, that could ren-

[173] Gebroenlandh. I cannot remember having seen this name for Virginia elsewhere.

der any assistance; which continued about an hour; so that if one had possessed 1000 lives, he would not have believed himself able to save one of them, but we thought that death would be the fate of us all, and there was only a board between life and death.[174]

And if a cannon, which hung over our heads on the side of the ship that was turned up, had slipped loose, it would have been all over with us. We had therefore no other resource than to cut off the masts and let them go out to sea. Life was dear to us all, every one thought of doing his best, so that he might preserve it. I, for my part, had intended to go on to the large mast [and cling to it, in case we should founder]. Finally our Lord assisted us in our utmost distress, for after the masts were cut away, the ship righted itself again slowly. Then our sorrow was turned into joy, we therefore praised and thanked God for it, and in our miserable condition there was a better hope. Later we prepared for ourselves small masts and rigged so many sails that we could scrape ourselves into a Bay in Virginia and arrived, God be praised, late in the evening, in the mentioned Bay, cast anchor and remained lying there a few days to [better] repair our masts and sails. After the above mentioned terrible storm, there were several days and nights of quite calm weather.

The 5th of May we weighed anchor, set sail and left the mentioned bay on the coast of Virginia, to further continue our West Indian voyage.

The 12th of May we arrived at Cape Henry in

[174] That is: only the ship's planks formed the border-line between life and death.

Virginia and cast anchor, after we had sailed back for 6 days and nights and erroneously supposed it was Cape Hinlopen, thinking we had sailed by New Sweden Bay a few days before.

The 13th of May we weighed anchor, set sail and sailed up into the Bay of Virginia, to reconnoitre [and ascertain] where we were, and anchored there. In Virginia the English nation has set down its pole.[175] On our way that day we were again in great danger so that we nearly all and every one lost our lives, almost in the same manner as happened to us in the above mentioned case on the coast of Virginia or Gebroenlandh, the former occasion through three but now through only two violent blasts, which gave us severe injury and harm, but (God be praised) we escaped, more favorably from this than from the former, in that we then retained our masts, though all the sails flew out to sea as if they had been cut from the ropes.

Finally, in this entanglement, we almost foundered which was more dangerous, for the keel of the ship scraped the ground to a considerable distance, so that it cracked severely in the ship. The person who cannot pray to God, let him be sent on such a long and dangerous voyage, and he shall surely learn to pray.

The 14th of May, during divine service an English ketch or sloop sailed past us and went off away from us close to the shore. We sent our boat there. During the sermon yet another ketch came somewhat closer to us. We fired a shot after it,

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[175] The English nation had made a settlement.

but it did not come [to us]. Still there came a ketch which we shot a couple of shots at, but when we saw it would not come to us, we gave [it] another shot, which hit between the ketch and the boat. At last our Ship-lieutenant, Anders Jonsson, came back with our boat and had an Englishman with him, who informed us that we were in the Bay of Virginia. Our seamen were so much puzzled on account of the 8 days of dark and gloomy weather, during which they were unable to make any observations or to take a meridian.

The 15th of May, we sent our boat ashore after fresh water.

The 16th of May, weighed anchor, set sail, fired a salute, and continued our voyage in the Lord's name, accompanied by two English ketches.

The 18th of May we arrived in [the Bay of] New Sweden, and cast anchor there.

The 19th of May we lay still on account of contrary wind.

The 20th of May we weighed anchor, set sail and proceeded higher up in the river and in the evening we arrived before Fort Elfsborgh. There we cast anchor and landed, finding the fort, with the houses and ramparts, totally in ruins. This fort had been abandoned on account of the mosquitos, because there was such an immense number of them that they almost ate the people up there, and they could not be driven away, though they tried to do this in all kinds of ways. They sucked the blood from the people so that they became very weak and sick from it. In the daytime they had to fight continually with the mosquitos so that they could not see with their eyes, and in the night they

could neither rest nor sleep. From the continued stinging and sucking of the mosquitos the people were so swollen, that they appeared as if they had been effected with some horrible disease. Therefore they called this Fort *Myggenborgh.*[176]

The 21st of May, which was Trinity Sunday, we came to Sandhock, where we cast anchor and gave a Swedish salute before the Holland Fort, which was erected and fortified on the land of Her Royal Majesty, the Queen of Sweden, through the violence of General Stuyvesant, Governor of New Holland,[177] contrary to various protests from Governor John Printz; and nearby 21 houses had been built for colonists.[178]

Afterwards, Commander Sven Schüte was sent with 4 files of musketeers to the Holland Commandant, Gerardt Bicher, to demand the delivery of the said fort, and since they did not answer our salute from the fort, and also hesitated to give a verbal resolve, so in the meantime we let them have a couple of shots from our heaviest guns, over to the fort, by way of demanding an answer. Thereupon the Commandant Bicher sent 4 men to us on our vessel, who desired three days delay. We answered them that they must resolve yes or no, now, without delay and when they desired to know what conditions they could expect to get, we answered, that they should get them on the next day at Fort Christina. In the meantime Lieutenant Gyllengren with our soldiers forced him-

[176] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 304–5, 396, 339; II, 582, 597.

[177] See above, p. xx, note 1.

[178] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 439, 445, 447, 449; II, 489, 582–4.

self into the fort, by the order of Commander Sven Schüte, took possession of their guns and cannon, removed the Holland Flag, and had the Swedish one brought from the ship and raised in its stead. Then a salute was given from the ship as a signal that the fort was brought under the authority and submission of our Queen, and powder was sent into the fort for their guns to answer Her Majesty's salute. Then Lieutenant Gyllengren, with some soldiers, was ordered to remain in the Fort till further orders. But their soldiers had to leave their various arms, some had none except with the gunsmith, so the men marched out without any, requesting to be allowed to place themselves under our Royal Majesty's protection. There were in the fort twelve iron cannon and one brass[179] three-pounder, but no powder, nor ammunition whatever, except 1000 musket balls and 60 three-pound cannon balls. We called this Fort Trinity, because it was captured on Trinity Sunday.[180]

The 22nd of May, we weighed anchor, set sail, gave a salute, and sailed up to Fort Christina, where we cast anchor and greeted the Fort with a salute, which was answered from the Fort.

And thus was (glory be to God) our voyage to that place in West India [to which] we intended to go, fortunately carried out and finished. We were put on shore, and on the same day, all the people were conducted to the Fort, and preparations made for their comfort, in the best manner we could. But, alas! there were only a few alive of the large number [of people] we brought with

[179] *Metallstycke*, metal cannon.
[180] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 582–4.

us from our dear fatherland, because most of them were sick or dead. And this must suffice as a brief account of what principally passed on our voyage to West India. God be forever praised and glorified for His divine protection, favor, and mercy, Amen, Amen.

How the journey later passed off from New Sweden, there is indeed much to relate about it, but [I] shall on account of its length, this time, let it go and only somewhat refer [to the circumstances] of how unfortunate the return journey was for me, in that I first lost all my best things in the Western Passage, and later, on the journey by land from Holland to Germany between Greismohlen and Wissmar,[181] was robbed of everything by a German nobleman and lieutenant of the cavalry with whom I later had to go to Court, in Mechlenburg, the capital city of Schwerin, before His Princely Highness.[182]

I.

HOW UNFORTUNATELY I LOST MY BEST THINGS IN THE WESTERN SEA; A GREAT INJURY AND DETRIMENT TO ME.

After the Hollanders by treaty had taken possession of New Sweden and we had gone from there[183] with the Holland ships to the city of Manhattan in New Holland, all of us officers, who wished to return to Old Sweden again, were distributed on three Holland ships, namely: *Bern,*

[181] Grevesmühlen and Wismar are cities in Mecklenburg, Germany.
[182] See below, note 195 (Chapt. I).
[183] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 614 ff.

Buntekoe, and *Weisse Pfert.*[184] By mistake my things and bedclothes got on the ship *Buntekoe,* but I with Commissioner Rijsingh [was assigned] to the ship *Bern.* Now when we arrived in the Western Passage, trained pigeons, which were on the ship, came flying from the ship *Bern* unto our ship. And I enticed the pigeons down on the deck with a few pease, took hold of one pigeon, and thus wrote a letter to the ensign Petter Wendhel, who was on the ship *Buntecou,* and that [letter] I tied around the neck of the pigeon, [and] then let the pigeon go. With this the pigeon flew its way immediately over to the ship *Buntecou.* When those on the *Buntecou* saw the dove have a letter around its neck, they enticed the dove down on the deck and took the letter from it. Thus I and the ensign corresponded with one another all the time, while we were in the Western Passage and the pigeons were the letter-carriers.[185]

Finally I wrote to ensign Petter Wendhell and requested him, if it were possible that he could get my things from *Buntekou* to the ship *Bern.* Thus the 1st of November, in the year 1655, the sailors on the ship *Buntekou* sent out a yawl and the said ensign Wendel came then with my things to our ship *Bern.* When now the mariners were to hoist up the chest from the yawl unto the ship, which was large and narrow,[186] the mariners grabbed hold of the halliards very hastily, nor would they even, according to my repeated requests, first tie

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[184] The *Spotted Cow* and *White Horse.* See Johnson, *Swedes in America,* I, 337 ff.

[185] A not uncommon manner of communication at the time.

[186] Perhaps Lindeström means "long and narrow."

the cover firmly with the ropes, but they hoisted with such vehemence that the chest struck and banged 4 times against the side of the ship, and the 5th time it struck, [against the side of the vessel] its cover flew open, so that all my things [fell] into the sea, and [I] lost through this all my fortification instruments which were excellent and splendid, costing me 150 *riksdaler* in cash, my books on fortification with many other splendid things, which cost me large money; and I had to stand there with great anxiety and watch how a swell wave swept the things immediately under the ship, and [they] went to the bottom.

I rescued nothing but the drafts of my maps and drawings, and other documents and writings, which lay on the wave and floated. These I had picked up, and dried [them] in the sun on the upper deck. It caused me much pain, that I was able to save these my things from the siege in New Sweden, but not from the rude hands of these sailors.

In the year 1656, the 1st of January, I came from the West Indies with the Holland ship *Bern* to Testell River,[187] in Holland, where, on account of the dangerous navigation, a pilot met us, who steered our ship to Helder,[188] there in the river. The 2nd of January we sailed to Warlingen.[189] The 3rd of January I took farewell of the ship *Bern* and travelled to the city Medhenblick.[190] The 14th of January I went from the city of Med-

[187] Testell River, Texel Stroom.
[188] Helder, on the point at the entrance to Texel Stroom.
[189] Warlingen, Harlingen (?). Cp. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 245, etc.
[190] Medhenblick, Medemblik.

henblick through the city Horn, Alckmair, Harlem and to the city of Amsterdam,[191] where I came to be lodged in the hotel *King of Poland,* situated behind the *nowe Brügg.*[192]

The 20th of January I went from Amsterdam through Harlem to the Swedish Resident, his excellency Haraldh Apelbohm in the Dutch capital city, the Hagh,[193] and I found lodgings in Hotel Harlem, with the hotel keeper Piotornol Post, which was the most beautiful and leading hotel in the city. And this city was an unfortified city and was situated in a beautiful and pleasant grove of beech [trees]. As I was now in foreign parts, I determined to go home from Holland over land and travel crosswise and everywhere all around to visit the most beautiful and best known places, as well as the principal and strongest fortified cities in Holland, Germany and Denmark; I therefore went to the Resident Mr. Harald Apelbohm to ask and apply for a draft for the said journey, and I obtained the letter of credit on a rich merchant in Amsterdam, Mr. Abraham Donckers, by name, living on the other side behind the castle wall.[194]

Thereupon I started, in the name of Jesus on my determined journey, but unfortunately it turned out very unhappily, as we shall see from the following.

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[191] Alkmaar, Haarlem, a rather roundabout journey.
[192] The new bridge.
[193] The Hague.
[194] Most of the letters of credit given on behalf of the Swedish government were on merchants in Amsterdam.

II.

HOW I WAS ROBBED IN GERMANY BETWEEN GRUSMIDHLEN AND WISMAR, AND LATER CONCERNING THE LAWSUIT AGAINST MY PLAINTIFF, BEFORE HIS PRINCELY HIGHNESS, THE PRINCE OF MECHELBORGH,[195] IN THE CAPITAL CITY SCHWERIN.[196]

The 2nd of April, in the year 1566, I came to Grüsmöhlen. Then there were a great many of the Prince of Mechelborgh's recruiting officers, who recruited for the cavalry, because His Princely Grace had promised our most gracious King of Sweden, Charles X, who then lay with his army in Poland, 4000 men, cavalry as assistance.[197] When I came into the inn, there was in the village of Greüsmöhlen a lieutenant of the nobility, Ernst von Velingh, by name. Now when he observed that I had come from [West] India and wished [to go] to Wissmaer, and also saw that I was dressed splendidly, he imagined that he would be able to get a fine booty from me in money, precious stones and other fine things.[198] Thus this lieu-

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[195] His princely Highness was Gustaf Friedrich I (1588–1658), of Mecklenburg. His MS. Journal is preserved at Schwerin. See Lutzow, *Meckl. Gesch.*, III, 148, ff.; *Allgem. Deut. Biogr.*, article Adolf F. I; Hempel, *Geogr.-Stat-hist. Handb. des Meckl. Landes*, I–II, 72 ff. Neither Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh (Uhling), nor Gov. Ican von Polckman (Volckman?) are found in *Allgem. Deut. Biogr.*

[196] Schwerin, Grevesmühlen, Wismar, German cities in the province of Mecklenburg, see Utrecht, *Meyers Orts-und Verkehrs-Lexicon*, I, 621, etc.; Penzler, *Ritter's Geogr. Stat. Lex.*, I, 718, etc., Hempel, *Geogr. Stat.-hist. Handb. des Meckl. Landes.*

[197] Charles X was now engaged in his Polish war.

[198] The West Indies was a synonym of wealth, and anyone coming from there was supposed to be loaded with treasures.

tenant made up his mind to rob me and then secretly commanded 12 of his horsemen to go before to a wooded hill, situated about 1 mile from Greüsmöhlen, where the passage lay towards Wissmaer, and with the intention to rob me there. When I now approached this wooded hill, where the horsemen had been commanded to be, this lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh, came in full gallop, riding after me. Again at times he allowed his horse to go as slowly as he saw that I might have some advantage in it,[199] sat and moved from one side to the other on the horse. When I said to my driver, "This fellow here, who comes riding after us, he has gotten more to his good today than I have given him." As I came further and right in front of the said wooded hill, he came again in a full gallop, and at the same time he blew a whistle, when the horsemen shot out from the wooded hill like an arrow, one after the other, and up to me on the country road, where they with cocked pistols in their hands and drawn swords hanging on their arms, surrounded me, asking me if I would surrender, placing their pistols to my breast; and therewith they plundered and undressed me, everything I had on, took the money from my trousers, threw me out of the carriage, took the driver with the carriage, baskets and everything together, drove to the woods with it as fast as they could, leaving me in the mere shirt, trousers and stockings. This[200] was all the doings of the lieutenant, who still held [his horse] on the

[199] The idea is that he allowed Lindeström to be a short distance ahead of him.

[200] The original has *hwilket,* which.

road for a while and looked about, [to see] if anyone had observed us, calling at the same time to me: "Do you see what, you *hernhüter*[201] I shall bring you to the gallows."[202] I went slowly out of his way, but he rode at me, so that the knees of the horse struck me in the back, so that I tumbled by it. When I finally got a distance away from him I cried out saying, that he had treated me passably well and hoped he should be rewarded for it. "What do you say, you *hernhüter,*" said he, took his pistols and shot after me, but God be praised, did not hit me. Then he regretted that he had not struck me down, which was then too late for him, because, as my fortune was then in the misfortune, just then behind the hill came a wagon from Wissmar creaking, full of people, yet mostly women, to whom I immediately took my refuge and when the lieutenant heard this wagon come, he set off quickly to the wooded hill.

When I now came to this wagon I requested them to take a warning from my misfortune, and told them what had happened to me at that wooded hill, about which they became very frightened. The men took their guns which they had, but the women cried and lamented. Then I left them immediately and went to a village a little distance from there, situated on the right side [of the road], Nascen[203] by name, the fastest I could; be-

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[201] *Seher wech du hernhüter, Ich soll dich zu dem galge bringen.* Lindeström's German may have been corrupted in my copy.

[202] *Was spichs tu hernhüter, sagt er. Herrnhuter* was a term of reproach. For this sect, see Jacobsson, *Den sven. herrh. uppk.*

[203] I am informed by Herr Clemens Meyer, member of the orchestra at Schwerin, that Nacen stands for Naschendorf, a village between Schwerin and Grevesmühlen.

cause I believed that they had afterwards bethought themselves and wanted to kill me, which also would have happened, if I had not quickly gotten away when they robbed me. It happened in such a hurry that they could not so hastily collect their wits, [also] because they were afraid some people might come in the mean time; but if they had intended immediately to kill me and bury me there in the wooded hill [they might have done so with impunity], for who would know where to seek or ask after me, and when the soldiers had left there, if they had killed or buried a few, who could know who had done it. When I now came near this said village, there stood an old man outside of the village, white as a dove. When he saw me come he wondered what kind of a person I was who came bare-headed and in only my shirt, having nothing more on than a pair of red scarlet-trimmed trousers with gold and silver decorations, [and] he thought I was not sane, or whatever he might think. Now when I came to him I greeted him, complained to him and told him what had happened and befallen me at the wooded hill, about which he grieved, saying: "In many years we have not heard of anything like that here, but quite a long time ago such things happened, and then many travellers were plundered and killed at that hill."

I then asked him who was inn-keeper in that village. He answered: "I am supposed to be that." Then I requested to be allowed to lodge with him over night. "You will indeed be allowed to do that," he said, "come in with me." When now I had come in with him, I was so anxious and melan-

choly that I did not know what to do, as everyone may well think, if such had happened to him in a strange country. As [my] fortune was, I had 8 ducats sewed into the lining of my trousers, which I had saved, which before I was not even able to remember, on account of my sorrow and anxiety. But then I was so happy about that money, as though someone had presented me with it. Therefore I demanded a knife of the host and ripped thus out a ducat, about which the host was also glad, that I had some money left, with which I could pay him, in case I should ask him for something. And the host became quite friendly towards me, requesting me to sit down and ordered a pot of ale for me. Later, when we had been sitting for some time, the host asked me what kind of clothes, horse and accoutrement the officer had who plundered me. I said: "Black clothes and accoutrement, and a brown horse." "Bless me God," said the host, "if it is not the one I think; he has indeed committed such things before, and as I hear, it must surely be the same one." I said I would gladly spend something on him, if he would tell me who it was. "That is of no consequence," said he, "we are indeed obliged without any reward to help one another in need, when we can, and God demands that of us, and if you will promise me surely not to disclose my name in this, I will tell you the same." Then I swore to it that he would never hear of it, and then said I, "I would surely be an ungrateful Goth, if I would reward with faithlessness a faithful thing." "Yes," said he, "on that promise I will tell you that it is a nobleman, who has his estates here

around Wissmar. He is a lieutenant in the recruiting regiment and is called Ernst von Vehlingh. At times he commits such things and as I hear you describe his stature and clothes, I will assure you that it is the same.'' Then I requested a piece of paper and ink to make a note of that name. When I had done that I thanked my host in the highest manner and began to be in somewhat better mood, but I walked the floor the whole night, thinking how I should get more definite knowledge about it. In the meantime I lay a little on my bed, at times I walked back and forth, thus I had the experience the whole night that I couldn't sleep a wink.

The 3rd of April in the morning right early when I had considered the whole night what was best for me to do first, namely that I should dress myself and return again in disguise to Greüssmöhlen on a search. I thus awakened my host and told him my proposal, which he thought could be well carried out. Thus I went over to his servants and requested of them some old home-spun[204] suit as a loan, which they had discarded, [and] promised that the one who had the ugliest suit to lend me, which could harmonize with one another,[205] I would on my return from Greüssmöhlen award with tips. They hunted up all the old rags which they could find. I thus took of them the ones that I liked best. First I put on a dirty tweed shirt on top of my shirt. Then I adopted a grey homespun suit, vest, stockings, shoes, mittens and all belongings, so that it all agreed and harmonized,

[204] *Någor fuul wallmarsklädningh.*
[205] *Coharera medh huart annat.*

and there was patch upon patch. I mussed up my hair with chaff, blackened my face and hands, and clothes all over, and got me a knotty stick in my hand. Afterwards I went in to the host and gave him my trousers and money to keep until I should return again. Then the host wanted to give me some food, but I could not eat any food, only a little coldslaw which I chewed down. Then the host said smiling to me: "Do you know whom you are like and whom you ought to give yourself out to be?" "No," said I. "Indeed," said the host, "here lives a charcoal burner close by us, who is called Casper.[206] Him you are quite like and you might give yourself out to be him; but he limps somewhat," showing me how he walked. I promised to strive after it. I then asked the host to let me have some of the smallest kind of money for a pot of ale, which I tied up in a dirty cloth. When I was now ready for the journey, I took my stick in hand, said farewell, and limped away, like Casper the charcoal burner, and marched thus miserably back to Greüssmöhlen again in this my abominably evil and ugly habit. When I now got underway 4 horsemen met me, very drunk, of those, who the day before had plundered me, and rode as though they might have burst the horses, having in mind, wherever they might overtake me, to cut me down. But they did not recognize me. When they came to me, they stopped, asked me if I had not met a person on the way towards Wissmar, who went in his bare shirt and had on

[206] Charcoal burning was a considerable industry in many parts of Europe in the 17th century and is still of importance in some sections. The industry has figured largely in literature.

a pair of red-trimmed trousers? But what I thought, God may know, I answered thus: "Yes, indeed, I met such a one and I feared him, as I did not think him to be sane, since he went bareheaded, in his bare shirt and had nothing on." At which they laughed and asked, if I met him far this side of Wissmar. I answered: "1½ miles, about." They said: "God grant that we catch up with that scoundrel. Never shall he live longer." I said: "If you ride on, you will overtake him easily." At that they put the spurs in the sides of their horses, rode their way flying. And I went as fast as I could limp along, thither I had intended. When no one saw me, I marched along sharply, but if I got to see anyone I limped again like Casper, the charcoal burner.

Now when I had been about 1½ hours on the way from Nascen village, I came to Greüssmöhlen, not wanting to go into the same inn in which I had been the day before, I entered an inn near the gate which runs towards Wissmar, where, when I opened the door, sat over at a table in the room some horsemen of the same who had robbed me the day before, entirely drunk. Then I indeed thought: "Now it will surely not turn out well with me." There was, however, no advantage for me that I thought I could go back,[207] through which I more quickly might have been found out, but I went so modestly and miserably in through the door. Now there was a table near the door,

[207] *War thå för migh ingen wänningh.* This is ambiguous. *Wänning* may be dialectic for *vändning* (turning, turning back). However, it is probable that *wänningh* is dialectic for winning (gain), hence advantage.

where the poorer people used to sit, but I did not consider myself worthy to sit down there, but sat down quietly on the foot stool at this table near the threshold. The hostess in the house, who then sat inside and spun, said to me: "Just see how bold that one makes himself, you really should stand outside of the door, if you want anything." All who saw me, considered me a beggar,—no beggar could look more miserably than I then looked. When the maid-servant came in, the hostess asked the maid-servant to give me a piece of coarse bread, which I received with thanks, [and] asked the maid servant if I could buy ½ pot of ale. [Then] the hostess asked the maid servant, what I now wanted to have. "Have you not given him his part?" "He requests," said she, "that he might be allowed to buy ½ quart of ale." "Yes," said the hostess, "he looks like it,[208] that he has money to buy ale for, but if he has nothing more, he will yet buy ale.[209] Go away and let him have it." Now when the maid servant came back and gave me my schooner of ale, I took up my cloth to pay her, bargained and wanted to give something less than the price. "Didn't I know that," said the hostess, "when such people buy ale one should give them half measure. Drink out quickly what you have gotten, and see to it that you get out." Yes, God console the poor, what he has to hear and suffer in this world. With this ale I sat for a long time and sipped slowly at it, like a chicken. The hostess asked me: "Haven't you

[208] *han seer lijkt uth der till.*

[209] The idea is that such people will buy ale for the last cent they have.

drunk your ale yet? We shall not let such people in anymore. We will then not get them out again. They have no other office or errand than to go in everywhere during the day time and look for a chance, where they at night might get to steal." The horsemen who passed me going out and in, whoever came by, kicked me, saying: "Why do you sit here in the way of the people, you ought to remain standing outside the door." Finally these horsemen had become so drunk that they were not able [to drink any more], because they had been drinking there the whole day, and it was my money which they were drinking up. Finally, the horseman who sat in front said: "Well brothers, we will now soon go to our quarters and go to bed, but we will first of all drink a toast, a good drop to you, brother, that is the health to the red embroidered scarlet coat. A good drop, brother," said the other, "that's the health to the hat with the red, green and white plumes. A good drop," said the third, "a health to the splendid money." And thus went the health around the circle with dreadful crying, yelling and turmoil.

This sounds well in my ears, thought I, and was very glad about it. Again the hostess began to admonish me to get out, which pained me much. When the girl came going by I gave her money enough for a schooner of ale, and with that she went to the hostess and showed her. "Go and let him have it, but he must drink it out immediately and go his way then. I will not have him in here any longer; he is probably full of vermin in his clothes," to speak with reverence, which pained

me very much. When now the horsemen had been sitting there still a little while, they cleared up their bill with the hostess for the company and with that they went away yelling and crying; and indeed I was glad that they went their way. When now the horsemen had gone away the daughter of a lieutenant-colonel, a young girl of the nobility, Maria Gyllenbahn, by name, came down, who, with her father, was living on the upper floor. [She] went over and sat on the bench at the window saying: "It was indeed fine that the crazy horsemen at last decided to go their way, so that I finally could come down and amuse myself with the hostess. It is now so lonesome, while my dear father is away." Then the hostess again said to me: "Won't you finally get out and go your way today." Said I: "Yes indeed, I shall not now remain, sitting here long." Since the horsemen were gone, it seemed to me that it was not of great consequence, if I assumed my former position.[210] Then I went out a little and when I came in again I sat down at the table which stood at the door. When the hostess saw this, she said: "Well, see dear lady, is not this an impertinent fellow? Before, when the horsemen were in here he sat down at the threshold on the stool, but see now how bold he is making himself that he sits down, up at the table. You surely have nothing good in mind. It is a wonder you do not climb up here and sit down in the high seat." I remained quiet, put my hand under my chin, and smiled at it. This young lady, when she had been sitting for a while and looking

[210] That is, threw off his disguise.

at me, she said to the hostess: "Hostess, I indeed feel like laughing at that fellow, for he appears so comical and queer to me, he is surely not the same which he seems to the eye, sitting in that suit. Bless me God, if that is not the same person who went by here yesterday. Then I stood up at our window and still he greeted me.[211] The same, the horsemen robbed yesterday on the way toward Wissmar and removed from him such beautifully embroidered scarlet clothes, a beaver hat, with all kinds of colored plumes in it, and much money and all his beautiful things. Yes they have treated him, poor fellow, very badly, which is quite to be regretted. And how he got away from them with his life, I do not understand." At that the hostess dropped everything she had to do [and] sat down to look at me. "God have mercy on me," said she, "if that is so. I have committed a grievous fault against him, for which I must beg his pardon." Then the young lady said in fun to me: "If you will have me, I will have you." "Yes, God bless me, dear young lady," said I. "I, poor Casper, the charcoal burner, am too insignificant for that, and that would be a high crib for a small horse." "That is surely the same," said the young lady, "for when he smiles, it seems to me that he is like him. Otherwise he looks sooty, so that I cannot see if it's the same one. If he were willing to wash the soot off himself, I would surely see at once, if it were he. He surely is on the look-out [for information], therefore he has thus disguised himself." Then she asked me, if I would admit

[211] The idea is that he was so much of a gentleman that he greeted her, although she "stood up at the window."

it to her, she would tell me who had robbed me and promised that she would not betray me. Therefore I rose up, took the young lady and mistress by the hand, thanked the young lady for her good affection and admitted that I was the same. I then asked the mistress, if she would keep her gate closed, while I was there, that I might not be discovered, which she also did. Then the hostess begged my pardon, because she had offended me, not knowing otherwise than that I was a beggar, and some of them used to commit much rascality. I answered: "It is of no importance, that one unknowingly and in mistake does something, that can be quickly forgiven." Then I sat by the side of the young lady in my clothes, asked her if she would not tell me what she promised. "Yes indeed," said she, "may God forgive him; as badly as he has acted against you, it was a wonder that you got away with your life. That fellow, he has indeed committed such things before, but he never leaves off with the same kind of life, before he is put on the wheel and the rack for it. Yes indeed," said she, "this is lieutenant of the horse, among these recruited people. He is a nobleman and has his estates around Wissmar. He is called Ernst von Vehlingh. A brother he has who is lieutenant-colonel, a splendid cavalier, but the other fellow is really a criminal and has a bad reputation. He commanded his horsemen out yesterday, sometime before you left, and when you drove away he rode out immediately after. The same fellow it was, who with his horsemen committed that fine piece of work against you. I indeed thought, when I saw you ride out, and this one come immediately

after: God knows, how it will go with this foreign fellow today. It was not over a couple of hours afterwards, when a carriage came here from Wissmar, which related that you had been robbed by the said lieutenant, Ernst von Vehlingh."

I thanked the young lady most heartily for the kindness she showed me, unmerited by me, which I can not sufficiently praise, wishing besides, with my whole heart, that I would be able to requite such again, which indeed I would not fail to do and constantly and willingly feel obliged to do. On account of it [I] became very happy, wishing that I were sitting in Wissmar. Then the young lady said: "You cannot now go from here before this evening, when it becomes somewhat dark; for if the same horsemen would meet you on the way, they would surely kill you, when they observe that you have been spying [around for news]." "Yes, that is indeed true," answered I, "I must indeed remain here until that time, and indeed I would gladly see before I go from here, that I would get a written attestation simply to this effect, that the same, often mentioned lieutenant, with his horsemen has robbed me. Otherwise his 'No' will be of as much avail before the court as my 'Yes.'" "That is indeed true," said the young lady. "I will see to it, that I will get you such a paper. My certificate," she said, "would be of no account, as I am a lady and have heard it from others, but I am acquainted with those men, who came here last night with the carriage from Wissmar, and they will surely do that much for my sake. It is a shame," she said, "not to help the one who is in need." Then [she] asked for my name and went

to them. After the elapse of a short period, the young lady came again and had the aforesaid certificate signed by three men, who were the ones that I had warned on the road, and [they] came from Wissmar, riding with the ladies, when I was robbed, who did this out of compassion. And[212] I could not thank this young lady sufficiently. In the evening when I was about to depart and go back to Nascen village, the lady said: "You shall never go back on foot, however we shall do it. I have some of my dear father's horses here, standing in the stable. I will lend you one of them and let it be saddled [and rigged out] with a saddle and pistols of my servants, which you may have as far as Wissmar and there you can deliver it[213] to your host, the inn-keeper Davidh Make, who lives at the market place. He will surely send it back to me again." [She] went immediately up to her room and took 4 *riksdaler* which she came down with, saying: "Take this little money as a present for the journey." Although I indeed refused [to take them], I had to *nolens volens* accept them. Yes, it was an exceedingly liberal, good-hearted and virtuous young lady whom I cannot sufficiently thank and praise,—her good deeds, on my part undeservedly shown me, which remain an unforgettable memory with me. I thus said farewell to Greüsmöhlen and rode, as fast as I could, back to the village of Nascen, to the same inn where I had lodged the night before. Thus [I] told the host, how fortunately my journey of investigation had

[212] The original reads: *Hwilcken jungfrw jag*, etc., which young lady, etc.
[213] The horse.

turned out and [that] the same man had robbed me, who the host had guessed it was. About which the host also was glad, saying: "I thought indeed that it was the same one, for he is used to carry on like that." Then I undressed my rags, took my trousers and money again from the host, bought of him an old coat and dressed me somewhat differently. When it was somewhat beyond midnight, I said good night to my host in the Nascen village and rode as fast as I could to Wissmar.

The 4th of April in the morning before the gates were unlocked, I came to Wissmar. When the gates were opened and I came to the first watch I did not get through without a pass, because they had such strict orders on account of the war time. I did not know how I could get in, since my passes together with all my other things had come into the hands of robbers. I asked that I might be allowed to speak to someone of the officers, and as they observed that I was a Swede,[214] a certain sergeant came out to meet me, to whom I related everything, how it had happened with me, between Greüssmöhlen and Wissmar. This sergeant took me to the lieutenant in the *Corps de guardie,* who then was on the watch, to whom I also related how I was situated. The lieutenant then commanded the same sergeant with two musketeers who should follow me to the Governor there in Wissmar, Ican von Polckman by name, a major-general to whom I also related, whence I had come, whither I in-

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[214] The Swedes were treated with great respect in Europe at this time, due to the position Sweden acquired in the thirty years' war. Besides the relations between Mecklenburg and Sweden had been close.

tended to go, who I was and how I was robbed between Greüssmöhlen and Wissmar the day before yesterday. Then the Governor commanded the same sergeant to follow me to the Secretary of War, who was to take notes of everything, how it has gone with me. The same sergeant following me thus from the Secretary back again to the Governor. Then the Governor asked if the Secretary had written down my complaint. I answered: "Yes." Then he commanded the sergeant to go with me to the inn-keeper, Davidh Make, who lived in the next house to the Governor's near the market place, where I was lodged on behalf of the Governor. Here I delivered to the inn-keeper, Davidh Make, the horse and equipment of the young lady, Maria Guldenbahn, in good condition. On the same day in the afternoon I went again to the Governor and asked how I should proceed with this case, and requested most humbly that the Governor would assist and help me. To this he answered: "You are a Swede and it is my duty to help the Swedes, to befriend and assist them. I shall not neglect to help you, in whatever I can and am able. But there is no hurry. You can have patience for a day or two, we must think about it. It is not a case that we can rush through immediately. The person whom you accuse of the grave misdeed is of distinction, and I will advise you that you do not accuse him solemnly, before you have secure foundations to stand upon, otherwise his 'No' may be as good as your 'Yes,' and would finally cost your head and honor." Then I let the Governor see the certificate I had procured for myself in Greüssmöhlen. When he had

read it he said: "That is not sufficient, and will not be enough for proceeding in this case. You must have more than that, when there is a question of life and honor. Go, however, into your quarters to consider further and think about it. We will then see, what will be best for you to do." With that I went away to my inn, quite sorrowful and sad.

The 5th of April there were here in the city, 4 of Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh's horsemen, yet none of those who robbed me, who had obtained information about me, where I was stopping and that I had accused their Lieutenant of robbery. Then they came to me in my dwelling, asking [me] if I accused their officer of being a highway robber. That you must prove, said they, or it will cost your neck. God grant that we had you outside the city in another place; you should surely be plucked for the accusation." "Yes, indeed," answered I, "you will soon see which one of us will be plucked, the fun has not yet begun and I advise you to go your way; I will not have anything to do with you at this time." They still used their mouths, until the host chased them out and shut the door.

The 6th of April I again called on the Governor and received the answer that he had deliberated about this affair and that he would write a letter to His Princely Grace about my person and inclose the accusation concerning the oft mentioned Lieutenant's hostile actions against me and in addition give me an open passport with a convoy to Schwerin, if I feel that I dare to accuse him with the facts I have. "Yes, indeed, Mr. Governor," said I, thanking him greatly, "I will take God as

my help [and push the case], even if I shall die in the attempt." "Yes," answered the Governor, "if one has not more certain proofs it is indeed dangerous. I will not indeed entirely advise you to do it, or dissuade you from it. And if you fare badly, I will not answer for it, as these officers present now hear that which I tell you. Therefore I put it up to you yourself. I for my person can do nothing more to it, than I have done." "No, indeed," answered I, "the Governor shall have no blame in this, even if it goes ill with me, I will take it upon myself." But I thanked the Governor most heartily for the good offer of assistance [he had given me]. "Yes, if you think that you dare do it," said the Governor, "you may go to the Secretary and ask him to prepare all that which is to be written and sent with you to His Princely Grace tomorrow morning early, that you may be able to go there, about which I have already spoken to the Secretary, in case you should dare to take it up." I therefore immediately went to the secretary and arranged for it.

The 7th of April, in the morning at six o'clock, I went to the Governor again. He then immediately sent for the secretary who came there with the letter, the complaint and the passport which the Governor signed, [which] were later sealed and delivered to me. Then the ordered convoy was sent for which was to accompany me, which consisted of an ensign with two files of musketeers. Now when the Governor saw the ensign come riding, the Governor said: "We have indeed forgotten engineer Lindeström, he should likewise have a horse and equipment. He will not be able to

march the long way." With that he immediately ordered a horse and equipment for me. Finally they came with a horse with a saddle and pistols, together with sword and belt, which I accepted.

When I now said farewell to the Governor and the other officers standing around, the Governor gave me 2 ducats for travelling money, wished me luck, and said: "What you owe here in the city for your lodging I shall clear up." I thanked him most humbly, mounted my horse and therewith I set out in the name of Jesus with my convoy from Wissmar to the capital city Schwerin, in Mechelborgh, which is 4⅔ miles. On the same day in the evening before the gates were locked I came with my convoy to Schwerin. When we now arrived at the city gates some of the watch were immediately commanded to go out to us, asking what people we were, whence we had come, and what we wanted. Then we explained our errand and I delivered my pass to the watch and the letter, which was written to His Princely Grace, [and] which they took immediately to His Princely Grace at the castle. When he had read it he answered it, requesting them to increase and double the watch and keep us in arrest over night in the guard house and keep good and strong watch over us. According to these orders, we marched through the gates, the sergeant immediately placing me in arrest in the guard house, where a lieutenant then kept watch, but outside of the guard house our musketeers were placed on one side and theirs on the other side, one musketeer of theirs over against one of ours, in full arms.

However, while we were sitting in the guard

house it became known to me that lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh was there in the city and had had some officers the same day with him as guests in his lodgings and become quite happy. But as soon as he got to know that I had arrived with my convoy, his courage failed him,—then his joy was turned to sorrow and [he] immediately sent his servant with two horsemen to me in the guard house, having them ask me, if I had anything to accuse him of. [They also proposed] I should go home to him in his lodgings, [where] he would answer me. Then I answered: "That honor will not be shown to that highway robber this evening by me. I will, if God wishes, early tomorrow, first of all see to it, that I may experience the high favor and grace to speak with His Princely Grace. Then I and that highway robber will get to talk to each other before the court-martial. These answers to his request," said I, "you may bring back to him for his attention."

The 8th of April in the morning at eight o'clock, according to the orders of His Princely Grace, I marched with my convoy up to the castle and as strong as my convoy was, so strong a watch of their own people followed us. When we now had come inside of the castle gate, their watch which had followed us marched back again and another watch was placed over against the convoy, but I and the ensign were put into the guard house again under a captain-lieutenant who then kept the watch. After the elapse of an hour I got [an] order to come up to His Princely Grace and then a subaltern with 2 musketeers was ordered [to go] with me. When I now came before His Princely

Grace, His Princely Grace asked me if I was the Swedish engineer whom Lieutenant Ernst von Uhlingh had robbed. I answered: "Yes indeed, Your Princely Grace." Then he sent down for a captain.[215] When the captain came up His Princely Grace said: "I hear that Lieutenant Ernst von Uhlingh is here in the city, who has robbed this foreign engineer between Greüssmöhlen and Wissmar; which is a rough piece of work and will be a severe case against him. Go down into the city and arrest him in his quarters and come immediately back again, I have more to command." Then His Princely Grace called in the Secretary and thus delivered to him the letter of the Governor, Ican von Volckman, with the inclosed accusation, saying: "Discharge this foreign Wissmar convoy and write to Governor Ican von Volckman an answer to his letter back again, so that the convoy immediately *sine mora* will be able to continue its journey back again." When now the captain returned, His Princely Grace asked, if he had placed lieutenant Vehlingh under arrest. His Princely Grace then commanded the captain saying: "Now go down into the city and place this foreign engineer somewhere in an inn on my account and at my expense, where also good guard shall be kept over him with a non-commissioned officer and some musketeers, until he has finished his case."

Then the captain went with me down into the city and quartered me in a wine restaurant and placed guard over me. This lodging the officers

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[215] *Tå skickade han nedherefter een capitein.*

enjoyed very much while I was there, who almost daily visited me. On the same day, in the evening, when my host and I sat and played *verkehren,*[216] I said to the host: "If I knew how this Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh feels I would gladly spend something on it." "Yes indeed," answered the host, "I can indeed give you advice about it, that you may get to know it. In his quarters they tap both wine and brandy, and here sits an old man,[217] who is accustomed to go around everywhere in the restaurants and drink. If we give him half a *riksdaler* to go there and drink up, he will surely know to tell you, what dwells in him,[218] sorrow or joy." "Yes," answered I, "if I give him money for it, he can, when he comes back here, tell me what pleases me, although it cannot be thus." Then the old man answered: "In that case I would be no honorable man, if I should do that." Then he said if I would give him half a *riksdaler,* he would go there and get me sure news about it, because he is very well known there, and when he returns, he shall indeed tell me how he feels, and how things are with him, either if it comes out to my advantage or disadvantage. On those words I gave him half a *riksdaler.* After the elapse of a couple of hours he came again and said that he sits and cries like a child. This I would not believe. Then he swore holy to it. Thereupon the host said: "You may surely believe his words." And [I] was in a better mood,

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[216] Some German game with which I am not familiar.

[217] *och här sitter een gammal man;* really means here is an old man.

[218] What mood he is in.

so that I hoped that my case would come out happily and well.

The 9th of April, in the morning, I was again ordered to the castle at eight o'clock. When I then came up there, His Princely Grace had me called in. When I came in, there were many high officers assembled and His Princely Grace said to me: "Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh denies your accusation. How do you think it will turn out, if you cannot prove that he has done such [a] thing." I understood, and took this as if His Princely Grace wanted to be partial to his own and not [be just] with me who was a stranger, on account of which I became somewhat discouraged and answered: "Yes, I observe, Your Princely Grace, if I do not get justice here, I will indeed get it from our most gracious King of Sweden, who is now in Poland."[219] At this His Princely Grace became impatient, stamped on the floor, and said: "Do you suppose that I do not keep as good justice here with me over my people as His Royal Majesty of Sweden, King Charles, keeps among his subjects? Be satisfied; you shall come tomorrow for an examination and before a court-martial, and if you cannot then with good reasons convince him [of his crime], then the same judgment will hang over your head and indeed your head is as much in danger as his.[220] However, go back to your lodgings again until tomorrow (if God will), we shall see how this will turn out." On account of which

[219] See *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, IV, 581 ff.

[220] *. . . j medlertijdh ståår edhert hufwudh så wäll j wadh, som hans;* your head is as much in the balance as his. That is, if Lindeström could not prove his case, he would be punished for falsely accusing an officer.

I returned home to my lodging again, quite melancholy and sorrowful.

The 10th of April, in the morning, I was again ordered to the castle at 8 o'clock, when examination and court-martial should be held. Then I thought: "Today, may God help me, for today it will require something." However, [I] escaped, God be praised, more leniently than I had ever thought. When I now arrived and went among the assembly outside of the hall, where the court-martial was to be held, where there were exceedingly many officers collected, the Secretary of His Royal Grace came to me, whispered to me saying: "There will be no court-martial today, as your opponent, Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh, has admitted your accusation. Therefore, his Princely Grace allows you to go home again to your lodging free from the arrest, without any further guard around your person, and there consider, if you wish to proceed further with the case, or, according to the supplicating request of Ernst von Vehlingh, reconcile yourself with him, you are free to do that. [I] can thus do nothing more in this affair, before we get your resolution about it, since it is now up to your pleasure. If you wish to see his head, you can have your desire; if, however, you wish to reconcile yourself with money, you are free to do that. These two points His Princely Highness has proposed to you, and wants to have a mature[221] answer from you, for which purpose he will give you some delay [to think about it]." "Yes indeed," answered I, "I will take the same

[221] *ett wällbeetänckiande swar.*

into consideration.'' Afterwards Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh's brother, a lieutenant-colonel, came out from His Princely Grace, weeping bitterly, stepped up to me, requesting grace and that I should reconcile myself with his brother. ''Yes,'' answered I, ''he has thus reconciled himself with me, that if it had gone according to his will, I would long since be lying cold in the mouth.''[222] He wept and begged unceasingly saying: ''God bless me, he has indeed acted very badly against you, that is sure, but mercy is greater than right.''

I could not see his miserable weeping any longer, but answered [that] I will take it into consideration, bade him farewell, and went away from him. But he followed me a long way and begged me as before. [Finally] I answered [that] I could in no way give a certain answer to it, before I had considered the matter. With that we parted from one another, and I went home to my lodging again without any escort with me, in an entirely better mood than I did the day before, when I went home from the castle.

In the afternoon some ladies and girls of the nearest relatives of Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh came to me in my lodging, who, as soon as they came in where I was, wept, fell upon their knees, begged for mercy, and that I should not seek a court-martial for the lieutenant, but reconcile [myself with him]. I immediately lifted them up from the floor and begged them for the sake of the name of Jesus they should not fall on their knees for my sake, but fall on their knees before God. I

[222] I would long since be a corpse.

asked them to sit down, but they would not do it, but begged and wept for mercy without stopping; and that I would follow them to Ernst von Vehlingh in his lodging, because he could not now get out of the arrest, and there reconcile myself with him. I repeated then for them how unmercifully he had acted towards me, that I had no conscience to so easily forgive him. Then they wanted to fall upon their knees again, but I prevented them. I then thought to myself, that with a handful of blood I would not be greatly served and could not possibly hear any longer such a miserable begging and weeping, for it went terribly to my heart, that I felt quite badly about it. Then [I] asked them for God's sake that they should sit down and stop weeping, I would, although he had treated me unmercifully, on account of their intercession, not seek a court-martial with him, but reconcile myself with him. They [then] arose and took me by the hand, thanking me heartily for the grace they had experienced, that I would hear their prayer. Then I followed them in the carriage to Ernst von Vehlingh.

When we arrived there, they showed me into a hall all by myself, where Ernst von Vehlingh immediately was to come to me. When he now came to me, he cried bitterly, fell upon his knees, embraced me, pressed me forcibly to himself and asked for mercy, saying that it was done in drunkenness. "Yes," answered I, "the one who steals when he is drunk, he will hang when he is sober." "Oh, forgive [me]," said he, "let your rights fall, save me from the court-martial and reconcile yourself with me. Then you will also be

forgiven by God in heaven. A handful of blood cannot be of any avail to you. I will indeed compensate you in money and restore your money and all your other things in a good condition again." I answered: "It may indeed be so, although you have acted mercilessly towards me, I will nevertheless be merciful toward you, let my rights fall, and reconcile myself with you." [I] raised him up, took him then by the hand, when he immediately went out. Then the ladies and girls came back again, took my hand and thanked me heartily, who would give up my rights. Then wine and claret[223] was brought in with which they wanted to treat me. When now the lieutenant had come in again, he counted up all the money of which he had robbed me. Then we agreed on a sum of money for my expenses, compensation for my journey and what I should have in reconciliation, for which sum of money and all my things, which were then at his estate near Wissmar, he gave his written agreement and parole that they the next day should be properly delivered into the hands of my host, Davidh Make, in Wissmar, that I should have no further cause to complain about it, and on the conditions that if he did not live up to this, his promise, the case should stand as before. Then he requested of me a reconciliation and pardon in writing which he desired to send over to His Princely Grace, that he might be released from arrest; which I gave to him.

When all this had been ended I said good-night to him together with the ladies and the girls, and

[223] My copy of Lindeström's manuscript apparently has a mistake here and this rendering is not certain.

went back to my lodgings again. Then we were happy on both sides, that this case had had a good and happy ending.

The 11th of April, in the morning, 8 o'clock, I was in the castle with His Princely Grace to request a favorable dispatch. Then His Princely Grace said: "I see that you are reconciled with Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh." "Yes, indeed, Your Princely Grace," I answered, "I am so." Said His Princely Grace: "None the less Lieutenant Ernst von Vehlingh shall have this as a memento that he shall lose his service and work himself up from a common soldier again, as a warning and example to others; and in order that you may see that I, as well as other potentates, in like manner administer justice among my people, and that if you had not been able to convince him [of his crime] you would not have escaped without punishment." Then His Princely Grace called up a lieutenant-colonel, whom he commanded to follow me to my lodging and tell my host that whatever I had consumed His Princely Highness should make it good; wherefore I thanked him greatly. Then I asked His Princely Grace, if he had anything else to command. "No indeed," said he, "except that you greet Major-General Volkman." "That I shall do, Your Princely Grace," answered I, took leave and went away, with the lieutenant-colonel, to my quarters. Afterwards I said good-night in the inn, thus left Schwerin and arrived after well-accomplished affairs, the day after, back again to Wissmar and was cordially welcomed by the Swedish officers

there,[224] when I had related to them, how this my journey had turned out, and what had happened on account of this journey to the German officers through this my affair, there in Schwerin, which pleased our officers very much, because they wished to lord it so terribly over all others.

God, who so wonderfully delivers the needy out of distress and helps [them], be forever and eternally praised for his divine blessings, Amen, Amen.

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[224] In the Westphalian Treaty, Wismar, Neukloster and Poel were ceded to Sweden, hence Lindeström found Swedish garrisons at these places.

NOTE. Addition to foot-note 164, p. 78, above. In this connection Prof. Einar Lönnberg writes as follows:

"I am certain that a lizard is at the bottom of the whole story. . . . According to the literature at my disposal, none, indeed, of the large lizards on the Antilles have so brilliant colors as the *Hagedia*. The two that can be compared [in size] to the lap-dog [perhaps my translation of *winthund*, should be lap-dog rather than greyhound, page 77, as the Swedish word has both meanings] are *Iguana*, green, and *Metopooeros*, dark [in color, *svartaktig*, blackish or darkish]. However, there are numerous small lizards of the *Anolis* genus, which are green and are able to inflate 'the throat bag,' which then turns entirely ruby red. Perhaps the *Hagedia* [of Lindeström's description] is a mixture (*en blandning*) of the large lizards and the small, with colors borrowed from the latter."

From the above it seems evident that Lindeström's account (above pp. 76–78) is based on an actual experience, with a confusion of the large and small lizards, the colors of the one being transferred to the other.

MAP OF FORT CHRISTINA AND THE TOWN OF CHRISTINAHAMN, PRESENT WILMINGTON, DELAWARE. SEE PP. XXI–XXII, ABOVE. FROM JOHNSON, *Swedish Settlements*, II, FACING P. 518.

CHAPTER II.

Some Notable Things [Which] Happened on Our First Arrival in New Sweden.[1]

In the year 1654, the 23rd of May, in the morning, the Orders of our Gracious Queen were reported and read, together with the Instructions, Memorials, and Recommendations of the General Commercial College, which consisted principally [of regulations, stating] in what manner the Government in New Sweden should be conducted, in case Governor Printz had departed [from the colony]; [all of] which took place in the presence of the whole country,[2] who had previously, altogether, been ordered to assemble and present themselves dutifully at Fort Christina, on this appointed day.

On the same day, in the afternoon, our colonists were conveyed in a sloop up into the country to the freemen.[3] Immediately thereafter the Holland colonists came together here at Fort Christina to receive their conditions there. It was thus proposed to them, that all of them who were conscious that they had not been a cause of and assisted [in the] erection of the fort there to the disadvantage and damage of Her Royal Majesty

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[1] For an account of this, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 497 ff.

[2] *Hela landets närwahru* (the whole country's presence); that is: in the presence of all the people of the colony.

[3] The newly arrived colonists were taken to the homes of "old settlers" along the river.

and our colony and the removal of the standards of Her Royal Majesty to Manhattan, in New Holland, they should make and take the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty and the South Company, such as will be prescribed and dictated to them. They should then be taken under Her Majesty's protection and enjoy the same liberties as her own subjects. They were given to understand that they would be more favored than in any adjoining colony.[4] Upon this they all begged pardon and put the blame on General Stuyvesandt, Governor of New Holland, and they requested and promised to be Her Majesty's faithful subjects and [they] took the oath under the bare sky and [a] waving flag over head.

On the same day [we met to consult about the government of New Sweden], since the Governor, Mr. Johan Printz, had departed from New Sweden and returned to Old Sweden before we arrived there, and had unknowingly passed us [on our voyage] near France, [and] had appointed in his place in New Sweden his son-in-law, Mr. Johan Pappegoija, Vice Governor; [and] as we now had arrived there, the said Mr. Johan Pappegoija requested to be relieved, desiring to return to Old Sweden, which could not be denied him. The administration of New Sweden was therefore put into the hands of Commissioner Mr. Rijsingh in place of Mr. Johan Pappegoija, until further orders from Her Royal Majesty.

In the same year, on the 3rd of June, Director Mr. Johan Rijsingh and I went up to Tenna-

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[4] That is: either in New Netherlands or in the English Colonies.

chonck,[5] thus Printzhoff[6] is called in the Indian or Renappi language.

The day after, which was the 4th of June, those freemen, who had not been invited to Fort Christina on the previous 23rd of May, were summoned to come to Tennakonck. Then they were told what a gracious intention Her Royal Majesty had in populating and protecting this land and what great advantages Her Royal Majesty now announced and gave to her faithful subjects. Thereupon Her Royal Majesty's Orders were read as well as the Instructions of the Praiseworthy Royal Commercial College. They said that they were all quite pleased with it and would live and die Her Royal Majesty's faithful subjects. Mr. Rijsingh said that he regarded them as such, indeed likewise as good Swedish men, who should seek the advantage of the country and should help to punish those who acted against it, secretly or publicly; least of all protect any mutineers, but rather clear them out and expel them,[7] and [especially as, on account of] some wicked plots, not only have many already deserted, but the greater part were on the point of deserting,[8] if this relief had not come. And [as] a part [of them] had also caused an uprising and mutiny against Governor Printz, they would do well, if they made such known voluntarily.[9] Thereupon one of them, named Matts Hansson,

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[5] Tinicum Island.

[6] Printz Hall. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 305–6, 308, 347–9.

[7] That is: the mutineers.

[8] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 462 ff.; II, 512 ff.

[9] That is: without pressure from the authorities, but of their own free will.

from Nyland,[10] replied: "We confess there has been a disorderly and riotous life here and that many have deserted; this gives us pain."[11] But at this time they were not willing to disclose, who was the cause of the disturbance.[12] Therefore the examination was postponed to another court-day.

The day after, which was the 5th of June, we went up to the Schuylkill, to inspect the tracts of land which Her Royal Majesty had graciously donated to Commandant Sven Schüte, namely: Passajungh (where the principal Sachems, i.e., chiefs or rulers of the savages, now live), Kingsessingh, Mochorhuttingh and the land on both sides of the Schuylkill, all the way [down] to the [Delaware] River.[13] Below that point Fort Korsholm[14] is situated, which was abandoned, since the departure of Governor Printz, and burned down completely by the savages.

The 16th of June we went again in the yacht to Printzhoff, or Tennakonck.

The day after, which was the 17th of June, 10 sachems, i.e., chiefs or rulers of the savage people of our own river, assembled at Tennakonck or Printzhoff. Then we spoke to them first on behalf of our great Queen in Sweden, [and] thanked them for having so far always kept good friend-

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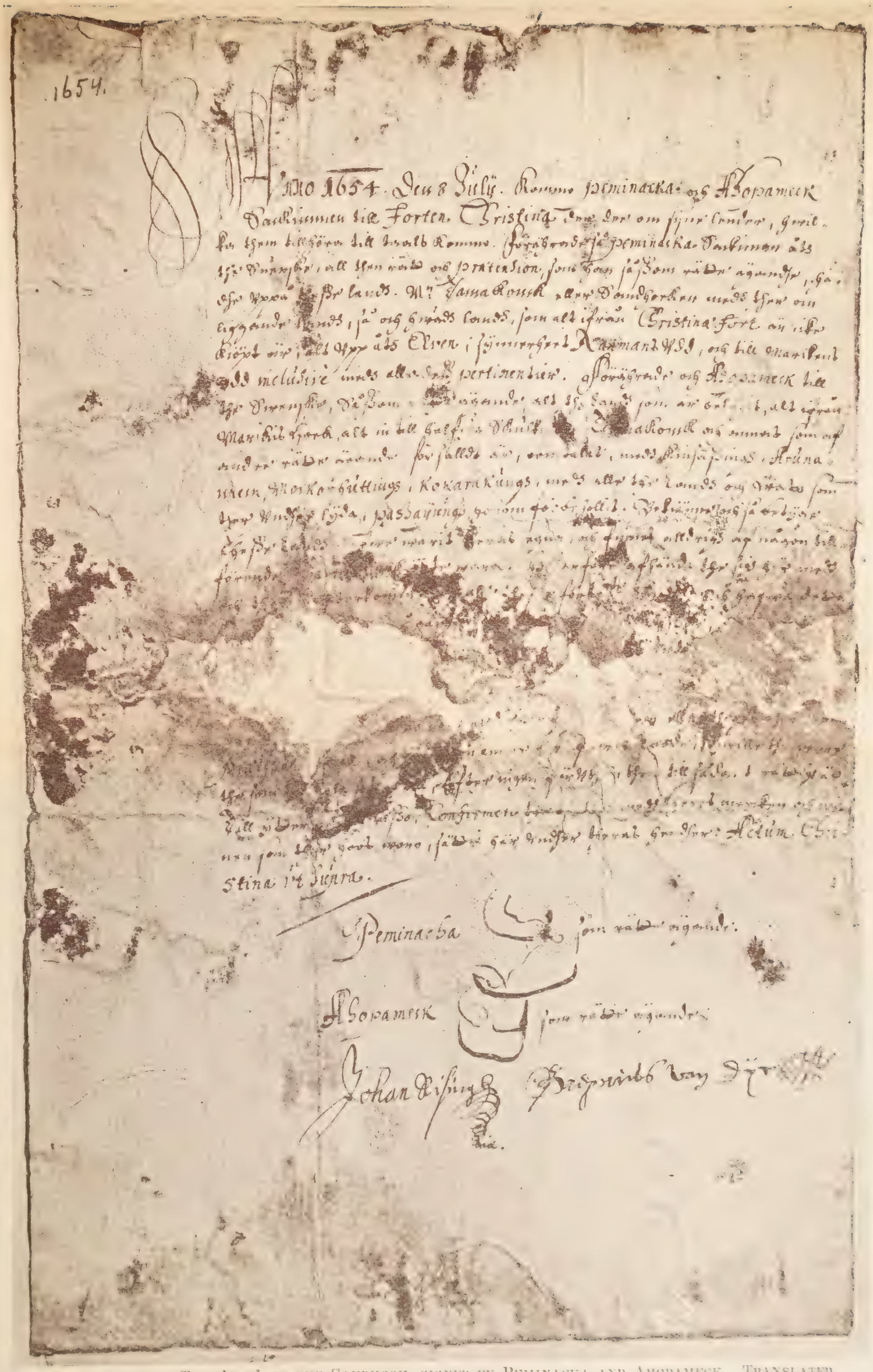
[10] There were several places by this name in northern Sweden. See Rosenberg, *Handlexikon,* II, 282–3.

[11] *det giör oss ondt* (like the German *es tut uns Leid.*), we are sorry.

[12] Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 513.

[13] "The River" invariably means the Delaware. This grant to Skute included a good deal of what is now Philadelphia. The original patent is preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[14] See map of New Sweden, below.



Indian deed to *Tamakonck* or the Sandhook, signed by Peminacka and Ahopameck. Translated in Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 756.

ship with our [people] out here, particularly in these rebellious times. If they would continue to do likewise hereafter, we would show all good friendship towards them, so that in case any enemy would attack them, we should warn them in time and seek [by] every means to keep peace. We would also expect the same of them.[15] We should likewise do no harm to them or their plantations; only they will not kill our swine or cattle, nor tear down our fences or ruin our grain and fields.[16] Afterwards they were reminded about the land we had bought of them, admonishing[16a] them that they should hold that purchase inviolable, as we could show them their deeds to it. We desired also that they would not believe anything [else] about us than that [which] we promise and announce, and if any one had told them that we had evil in mind against them, as is whispered about among them, they should not believe such, but think of it otherwise.[17] Neither should they believe that our ship had brought along any evil, which was to destroy them, which they call *Manitho*,[18] as many of our people were dying and the sickness had come among them. [We] told them that sickness had formerly often been among

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[15] *Thet samma willja wij och förmoda af them.* That is: we would expect them to reciprocate the above.

[16] The Indians occasionally broke down the enclosures of the Swedes and killed their swine and cattle, when these were found on lands, which the aborigines considered their hunting grounds.

[16a] *förmenandes them. Förmena* as an active verb in Swedish really means to forbid or deny, but Lindeström uses it here in the sense of admonish or (perhaps) suppose. Possibly *förmenandes* is a mistake for *förmanandes*, admonishing.

[17] *tij the skole annars besinnat.* The idea is: they should not believe the evil reports, but think or believe the opposite.

[18] For *Manitho, Manitto,* see below, Chapts. XV, XXV.

them, through which whole tribes had died out, when none of our ships had come here. Finally [they were told] that there was nothing more to be said [to them], except that we were seeking to keep good friendship between themselves and us reciprocally. Thereupon it behooved us to remember them with presents, and the presents were laid in a heap on the floor. Then they gave us to understand that they wished the presents might be distributed to each one separately, which we did, giving to each Sachem or Chief, who were ten in number,[19] by name as follows: namely: From Passajung, Ahopamen and his brother Quirocus, Peminacka, Speck, Weymotto and Juncker, from Nittabakonck, Mattawirarcka and Skalitzi, from Sipaessingh, Winangene [and] Naaman.[20] Each one [received] one ell of frieze, a kettle, an axe, a hoe, a knife, one pound of powder, a bar of lead and 6 awl points. To the other interlopers, 14 or 15 in number [were given as follows]: to one, a knife and 2 awls, to another, an axe, a hatchet, etc. When they had received the presents they went out and consulted together, whereupon they came in again, and one [of them], Naaman, by name, rebuked the other savages, that they at times had spoken ill of us and injured us. We were good people. "See there," said he, "what they bring

[19] Rising says there were twelve chiefs, but as Lindeström not only gives the names of the chiefs, but also the location of their villages, he is perhaps more correct. Possibly there were two smaller chiefs present whom Lindeström neglects to mention. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 563 ff.; *The Swedes in America*, I, 279 ff.

[20] Rising calls him Hackaman, but Lindeström is perhaps nearer the correct attempt at reducing the name to phonetic writing. The name has been retained in *Naamans Kill* (see map).

us and how they offer us friendship'' and then [he] stroked himself down his arm a few times, as a sign of particular good friendship. Then he thanked us, on behalf of all, for the presents and said that we should hereafter keep a very fast friendship, that if they had hitherto been as one body and one heart during the time of Meschatz, i.e., large stomach[21] (thus they called Governor Printz) therewith [he] struck himself on his breast, so should they hereafter be as one head with us, [and] at this [he] grasped about his head and twisted around with his hands, as though he wanted to tie a fast knot. Thereupon he told us a ridiculous simile [saying], that just as a calabash is a round growth, without a fissure or cut, so should we hereafter also be like one head without a fissure, and if anyone would attack them, we should make it known to them; if they [on the other hand] perceived the like against us, they would indeed give [us] warning [even in] the dark midnight.[22] And when they were told that this was all very well, if they would all affirm and keep it, they all gave a loud shout and consented [to it].[23] Then salute was given with our cannon, which pleased them very much. *''Pu, hu, hu, mokirick pickon,''* said they; ''the large gun is now going.''[24] Thereupon wine and brandy were

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[21] *Meschatz, mech-achti.* The copy in the Hist. Society of Pa. has *stoorbunken,* large pan; my copy has *stoorbuuken,* large belly.

[22] *mörcka midnattstijdh.* That is: they would give warning immediately, night or day. For the Indian "sign of particular good friendship," and their oratory, see De Vries, *N. Y. Col.,* 2, III, 104.

[23] *giorde the alle itt högt roop och samtyckte.*

[24] See below, Chapts. VI, note 6–7, XIII; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 168 ff.

given to them. But one must carefully see to it that he does not get too much of that kind,[25] for then he becomes entirely mad, so that he does not know what he is doing. Thereupon another [sachem] stood up and spoke [saying], that all who were there would keep that covenant fast and do us no injury, nor kill our hogs or other cattle, but if anyone of their people could be proved guilty of it, he should be punished as a warning for others. [Wherefore] we should settle some colonists at Passajungh, they said, where most of them lived, to see if some were found therewith, [doing any injury to the Swedes], then they would furnish a remedy for it; and thus showed[26] that all the lands which we had bought of them should belong to us. Thereupon the deeds of purchase were taken up (although there are only a part of them, but the rest are in Stockholm), and only the names on them were read; and when they heard their names they thought much of it, but when some one was mentioned, who was dead, they hung their heads down.[27] With this we stopped.

Then another [chief] began to speak, seating himself on the middle of the table, and asked for the loan of a boat, with which 2 of the savages wanted to go down to the Hornkill,[28] to Tentackan, a great Sachem,[29] and beg him to take away again that bad *Manitho,* i.e., the evil one, whom he sent

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[25] That kind of drink.

[26] The original has *contestera*, perhaps a mistake for *constatera*, verify, authenticate.

[27] The Indians never mentioned a dead man's name after burial, see Chapt. XXVI.

[28] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 170–1.

[29] Chief, and in this case also, medicine-priest.

in our ship and all around the ship, otherwise both we and all would die. They were told that yesterday a boat was sent there and now [we] had no more [to spare]; also asking them what kind of an evil [thing] they had seen.[30] They said: "Like fire all around the ship."[31] We told them that it was nothing else but the salt water which thus sparkled and which had sparkled thus during our whole voyage. Then the savage became very angry and said to the sergeant Joris von Dyk,[32] who interpreted: "Now, you are crazy, you old fool. Before you always used to say that I lied, but now you lie enough for anything. Have I and some [others] not seen that?"[33] But upon this he said:[34] "You may indeed be right, I did not believe you to be so intelligent, I am in this matter not so wise." When he heard that praise, he became quite satisfied.

However, two large kettles and other vessels were now set on the floor, full of *Sappan*,[35] i.e., porridge of maize or Indian wheat, which grows there. But the superior Sachems remained sit-

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[30] *Hurudant the thet ondha hadhe sedt.*

[31] *Som een eldh rundt om skieppet.*

[32] Gregorious van Dyck (or Dijck). See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 127, 204, 315, etc.; II, 699, etc.

[33] *hafwer jagh icke och någre sedt thet.*

[34] Van Dyck showed himself a rather clever diplomat on this and several other occasions.

[35] *Sappan, samp, sapan, sapon, sapsis, saupaun, sepawn, sepon, supawn, nasaump*, etc., is an *Algonkian* word of wide distribution, meaning "corn mush" (root meaning softened by water). The word was adopted by the settlers in New England and New York (usually written *supawn or suppawn*); defined as "Indian meal boiled, hasty-pudding, mush." "*Nasaump*, a kind of meale pottage unpartch'd. From this the English call their *Samp*, which is Indian corne, beaten and boild, and eaten hot or cold with milk or butter." Williams, *Key*, 33.

ting and the lesser people ate their stomachs full of it. But when the great Sachems went away, they asked permission to pour the rest [of the Sappan] into two kettles and carry them out on the ground to eat, which was granted them.[36] When now they had gone away we went back to Christina again, where the English, who had come from Virginia, were waiting for us.[37]

The 18th of June, after supper, Mr. Lorentz Loijd,[38] the English Commander of Virginia, brought forth that the English had pretentions to the New Sweden River, namely: 1. That they had discovered it; 2. That they had it through a donation from King James, all that [land] which was situated between such and such a degree along the coast; 3. That Sir Edward Ployde[39] and Carl of Great Albion[40] had a special donation of this river from King James.

Then we answered him: If discovery of the country could give a legal title, then the Spaniards were the nearer to it, since they had incidentally been here in New Sweden Bay with ships long before the English, as the voyages will show.[41] But as for the donation, which Sir Edward

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[36] The meaning is obscure. The sense seems to be that the superior sachems did not move up to the kettles of *sappan*, but remained where they were; while "the lesser people ate their stomachs full. When these superior sachems went away and the ceremony was over, the others asked for the *sappan* which remained in the kitchen and which had not been poured into the "two kettles on the floor."

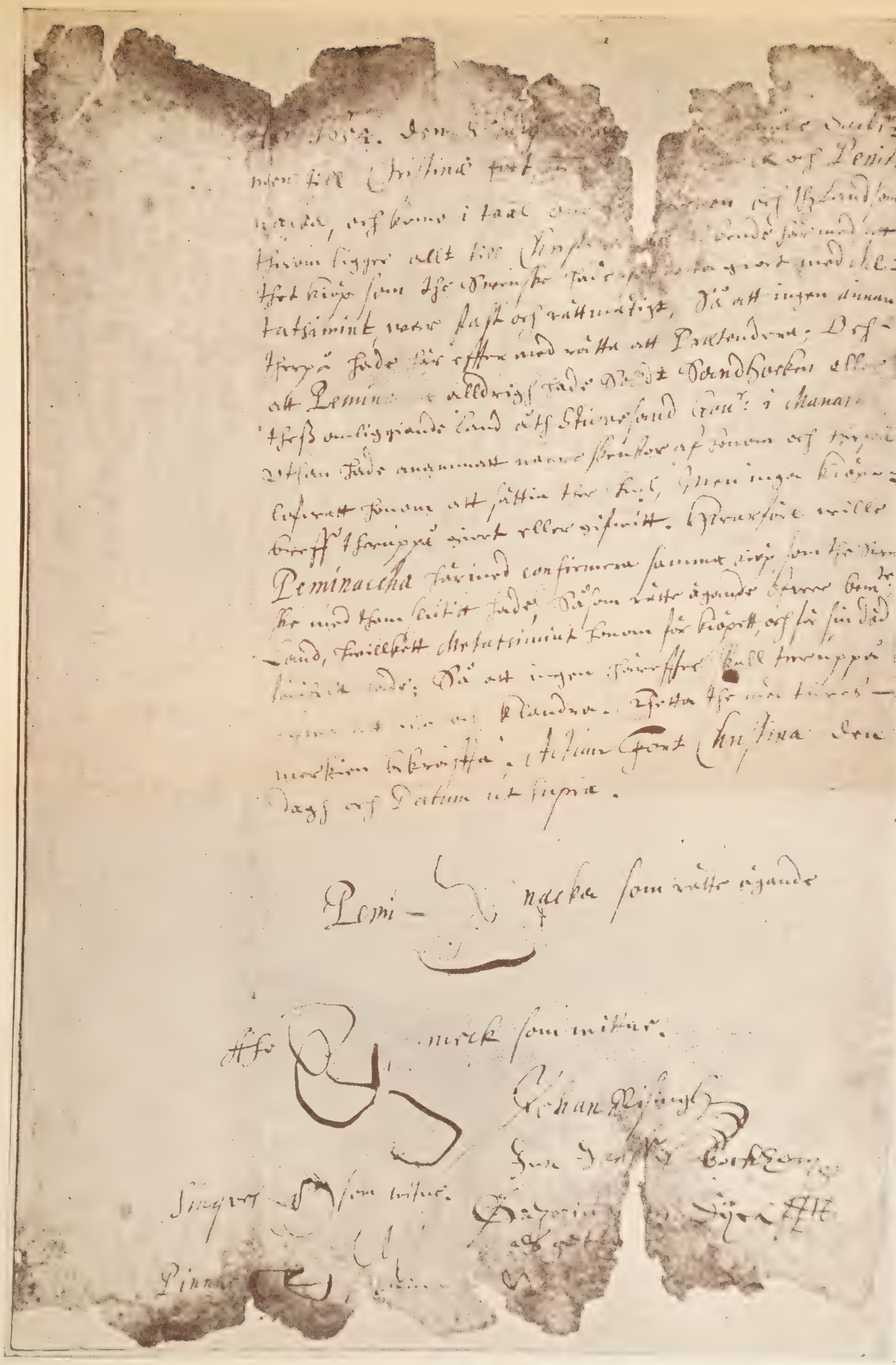
[37] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 572 ff.

[38] Edward Lloyd, of Providence, Maryland.

[39] Sir Edward Plowden.

[40] Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 174 ff.

[41] Various published accounts of voyages to the shores of North America.



CONFIRMATION OR CERTIFICATE OF SALE, SIGNED BY PEMINACKA AND AHOPAMECK. FROM JOHNSON, *Swedish Settlements*. TRANSLATED IN *ibid.*, II, 755–6.

Ployde or any one else had on it, we should value equally good to that which the Pope in Rome granted to the Kings of Castile and Portugal. To the one he gave East India with all the coasts on the East of the prime Meridian, and to the other he gave the West Indies with all the coasts lying westward of the said line. But we laugh at the Pope, who gave away what he did not have; which the English nation itself, as well as the Hollanders and French, do by the populating of these lands.[42] He knew well enough that three were *Justi Tittuli possessionis Terrarium:* 1. *Occupatio vel per Justum Bellum aut a nullo possessarum;* 2. *Donatio per Justum possessorem;* 3. *Emptio a Justo possessore.*[43] Of these the English had not yet any *Tittulum possessionis* on this New Sweden River, but the Swedes [had] the second and third and [they] have their Deeds upon it from Cape May and Cape Henlopen, as far up as the River extends. Therewith this discussion became silent. But then the English Commander said, that this River ought by rights to come under the protection of England.[44] He was answered, that it now belongs to Queen Christina of Sweden and it was hoped would so continue, since the right of descent belongs to her.

Now, I will not withhold a ludicrous occurrence which happened one night on our first arrival at Fort Christina, namely, that one of our soldiers, who had lately arrived at Fort Christina, gave an

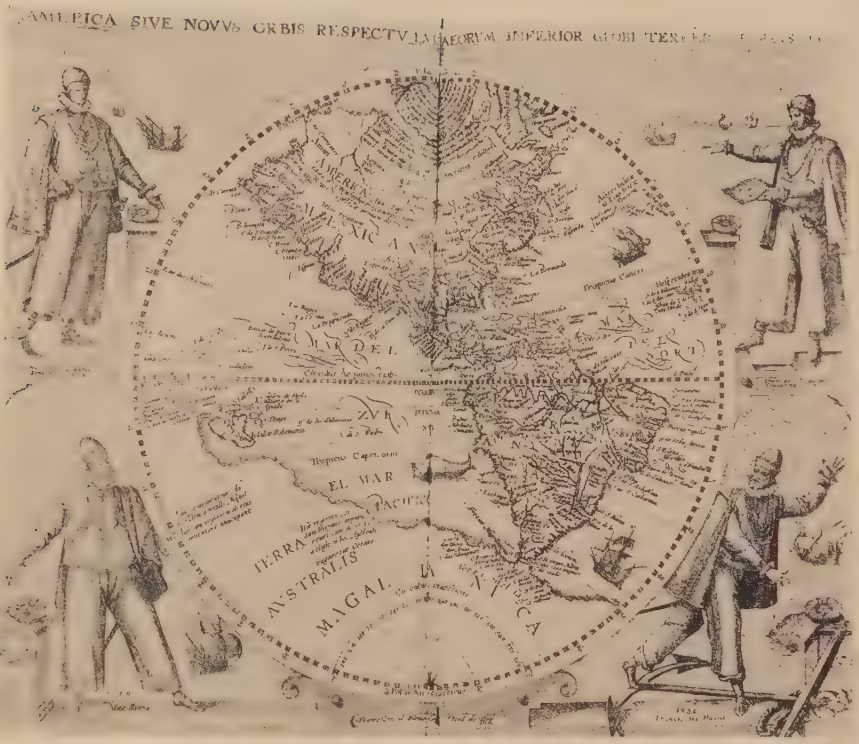
[42] The Papal Bull, referred to here, was often made the butt of jest in letters, etc., at the time.

[43] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 573.

[44] A rather naive argument, but displaying a state of mind that is the underlying cause of England's greatness.

alarm in the fort, while he was on guard, because he saw Spanish flies[45] shine bright, and close, which he had not seen before, crying out with a loud voice, "Alarm, Alarm, the enemy is about." Thereupon the drummer beat the alarm. He was asked what he had seen. He replied: "The enemy is here close to the fort, see how many burning torches there are." And when it was looked into, it was [found to be] nothing but Spanish flies, for which all the people in the fort had run to arms.

[45] Fireflies.



11. Map, showing the extent of the explorations in North and South America, towards the end of the 16th century. From De Bry, *Voyages.* (*Americæ Pars Sexta, etc.*) See above, p. 166, note 41.

CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ZIPANGRI—CANARY, FORTUNATE—OR INDIAN ISLANDS WHICH BELONG TO THE NEW WORLD, AND WHO FIRST DISCOVERED THEM. ALSO OF THE PROCESSIONS AND CEREMONIES WITH WHICH THE CATHOLICS BURY THEIR CHRIST; ALSO HOW THEY IN POPEDOM OR AMONG THE CATHOLICS READ THEIR CURIOUS ROSARUM AMENTIUM, THINKING THEY CAN APPEASE GOD WITH THEIR DEAR PATERNOSTER.

This Novus Orbis, or New Islands, is the New World, which is situated on this side of West India, wherefore some call them the Indian Islands, which lie beyond Spain, about half way between Spain and India. Therefore, one will find in two Maps, in *Cosmographia Mundi* the country Cathay,[1] and the Archipelago, situated in this ocean [numbering] 7448 Islands and still more;[2] through which we can observe wherein these Islands separate from the East, particularly the Zipangri Islands, which the great Cham[3] has

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[1] "The Country Cathay" was made known to the world by Marco Polo.

[2] *7448 insuler eller öijer belägne och äntå något mehr.* This is based on Marco Polo's account. "According to skilful and intelligent mariners, who have made the voyage, it [the oriental archipelago] contains 7448 isles, mostly inhabited." Marco Polo, *Travels,* Part III, Chapt. 4.

[3] *Zipangri Insuler, som den stoore Cham haar giort sigh undherdånige. The Zipangri Islands* are evidently the *Zipangu (Cipango)* group described by Marco Polo. Columbus, as we remember, believed that Cuba was *Cipango,* and that he later (November, 1492) actually was on the mainland not far from

put under his subjection, as there are immense riches found in them, where much gold is found and [they] have their own King to whom they are subject. Large and beautiful red pearls are also found there, which by far surpass the white pearls and costly precious stones. The inhabitants worship their idols. They capture their enemies, boil, roast and eat them.[4] The large number of islands which are situated around the Zipangri Islands, are for the most part occupied by people and inhabitants, and there is not one of these islands, upon which valuable roots and valuable trees are not growing, which do not give out a sweet, pleasant, agreeable and wholesome and beautiful odor.

In order [that the reader may] understand the other new islands,[5] I must not neglect to say that in the year of our Lord when we wrote one thou-

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"the realm of the Gran Can" with its city of Guisay (the Quinsai of Marco Polo). John Cabot likewise reported that he had reached the land of the Gran Cam. Lindeström had these early reports in mind and apparently was unacquainted with the latest accounts on the subject, hence his confusion. All the early "geographies" referred to the subject. "Hof dess grossen Chams", *Cosmographia*. Frankfurt, 1581, p. 41. "The great Cham of Cathay", Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, 834, 836–7, 845–7; cf. also *A Map of the World* by Matteo Catarini, 1506, and Nordenskjöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*. These early accounts are as fantastic as Lindeström's. They were largely based on Marco Polo, cf. *Travels*, Part III. The power of the "Great Cham" (Khan) had taken such hold on the imagination of the people at the time that the Cham is referred to in Elizabethan literature, by Shakespeare and other dramatists, as a synonym of power.

[4] "Here are also red pearls, large and of equal value with the white",—Marco Polo, evidently speaking of Japan. Later writers, Count Boni, Thunberg, Olivier de Nort, etc., have referred to the abundance of pearls in Japan and their red color. Lindeström's account of cannibalism was taken from Columbus and other early explorers.

[5] *Dee andre nyie insuler och öijer till att förståå*, etc., Lindeström's idea is: in order [that the reader may] know [something about the history of] the other new islands, etc.

sand four hundred and twenty-nine,[6] then there was a man Christopher Columbus by name, a citizen of Genoa in Italy, who was a descendant of the Columbus family, who went to the King of Spain, and when he had been a long time at his Court he asked for a ship and all sorts of equipment, and said he was in hopes of being able to discover unknown countries. The King and his Council considered it at first as his mockery and nonsense, but Christophorus Columbus adhered so persistently to his demand that finally assistance and supplies were granted said Columbus with which to pursue his desired voyage. Consequently he made his first voyage in the autumn of the above-mentioned year with two ships, and arrived at length at the Islands formerly called Fortunate but now Grand Canaries.[7] But beyond these Islands, a fertile island is situated, which is called Madera,[8] which the Spaniards, and more particularly the Portuguese, have improved with dykes and burnt [the woods] and thus prepared the soil to raise grain and fruit [and] also built houses, [so] that no richer and more fertile islands are to be found in the Ocean than these two mentioned Islands. Water flows through them;[9] there are many springs and fountains. Many sawmills have been erected, where they saw valuable trees, which grow there, into

[6] Lindeström reverses the two and the nine in 1492, making the date 1429; a mistake which he certainly would have observed and corrected in his proofs, had the book gone to press.

[7] See above, Chapt. I, notes 68, 70, 73.

[8] The Madeira Islands were famous for their wines, sugar and fruits even in Lindeström's day.

[9] *Der flyther wattn igenom,* etc.; *i.e.,* rivers flow through the islands, fed by springs.

planks and boards, such as resemble cedar and cypress, of which fine, valuable cupboards, tables, chests, caskets, boxes, drawers and such [like] are made. These trees, [which] have a natural red color and fine odor, grow there in great abundance. After they are sawed, large quantities are shipped to other nations and countries. The King of Portugal[10] has also had sugar-cane planted on these islands, which annually brings a great benefit and indescribable revenues from foreign countries in trade and in exchange for other merchandise. This Canary sugar is the most exquisite in taste and far surpasses that which is raised in Sicily and Cypro.[11] Concerning the grapes [it is to be said that] the vines were taken from Candia, which are planted on these islands and grow so abundantly, that the vines produce more grapes than leaves and many of the bunches are found to be 4 palms long,[12] which are pressed, on these Islands, and made into Canary wine and many other kinds of splendid wine beverages. In these said Islands are pigeons, wild peacocks, parrots, wild hogs, and other strange animals in great abundance; also canary birds which were here formerly in plenty, before the arrival of any people.

These aforesaid Islands, Great Canary and Madera, have become so much more fertile and

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[10] Perhaps Lindeström has in mind John I (1385–1433). John I, and especially his son Henry, surnamed the "Navigator," did much for the development of the Madeiras.

[11] The sugar from the Canaries, Cicily and Cyprus was famous.

[12] 4 *spann långe*, "four spans long" would be the exact translation, but it hardly seems possible that bunches could grow that long.

valuable, since they have been entirely and completely settled and cultivated, through the industry of the Spaniards and Portuguese, in spite of all expenses, so that at the time I was there, as stated above, there was then thousands of times[13] greater blessings [there than in other places] of all kinds of rare fruits, trees, herbs and roots; of animals, such as camels, asses and all kinds of cattle; but horses are not found there.

After the inhabitants became acquainted with the fertility of the soil of these islands, they procured, from different other nations and countries, the seeds and grain, such as could be raised there. Thus all kinds of rare and innumerable valuable fruit trees, herbs and roots grow there now in great abundance, which was referred to in my first chapter, on the fertility of Canary.[14] And these Islands, they are also[15] called the Fertile Fortunate Islands; that is the most fertile and prosperous islands. There are found 10 other Islands adjacent, 7 of which are inhabited, but 3 are yet lying waste. Those islands which have been settled and cultivated, are called Fracta Lancea, Magna Sors, Grand Canary, Teneriffa, Ginera, Palma and Ferrum,[16] etc.

And when Columbus came to them, the first above-mentioned time, he found the natives all shamefully naked, and without any knowledge of

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[13] *så fans der 1000 sijnom 1000 gånger större wällsignelsse:* there was found there thousands upon thousands of times greater blessing.

[14] See above, Chapt. I.

[15] *Och desse insuler dee kallas och dee fruchtbahre Fortunate öijor.* Cp. *Enc. Brit.* (1911), article, *The Canaries.*

[16] Hierro (Ferro), Palma, Gomera, etc.

God or religion. They have, however, since, for the most part, been converted to Christianity, except [those] on 4 Islands [with] hardened [people]. Although these Islands are not far separated from one another, yet each of them has its own special language, so that the one Island did not understand what they spoke on the other.

Teneriffa and Grand Canary are called the large Canary Islands. Canary peak is an immensely high Mountain in the Island of Canary,[17] which can be seen 60 German miles off in the ocean, when the weather is clear, about which mention has been made before.[18] But Teneriffa can be seen 50 German miles off in the Ocean. For thereon is found an unspeakably high Mountain, rising high up towards heaven, which is said to have, up on the top, fifty openings or holes and [is] 12 German miles high, which squirts fire out of itself high into the air like Mount Etna and Sicily.[19]

The inhabitants on Teneriffa, and adjacent parts, eat rye-bread, meat and preparations with milk; they have particularly many goats, camels and asses, and great number of fig trees, which grow there. But no wine [is produced], nor wheat, nor are horses used there.[19a]

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[17] See above, Chapt. I, notes 68, 70.

[18] This is not the highest peak of the Canaries. See above, Chapt. I, note 68. Lindeström states that the peak of the Grand Canary can be seen further than that of Teneriffe, which is of course a mistake. "From the highest point of Teneriffe the horizon is 140 miles distant," hence the mountain can really be seen a very great distance from a ship at sea, on a clear day.

[19] Lindeström may have seen "steam and sulphurous vapor" squirt "high into the air," or even a slight eruption, as the *Öhrn* sailed through those waters in 1654.

[19a] This and the preceding paragraph are out of place and interrupt the narrative about the "Indian Islands."

Indeed the King of Spain has gained such a victory and upper hand on these Indian Islands, that on the Island of Cuba 6 cities have been established. On the Island Jucatana[20] a splendid, beautiful and large city, with large beautiful stone houses, has been built and established. On the island Cozumellam,[21] which the Spaniards call Holy Cross,[22] because they arrived there in May on the day of Corpus Christi, they have also had a great deal of expense there and built it up.

On the Island of Hispania or Spaniola[23] twenty-eight sugar-mills have been established, because the cane grows abundantly there. From there a species of wood is brought, called *Guajacum*,[24] which is used for the coffins of kings and high potentates in order that their bodies may be preserved for a long time, as if they were embalmed. When a bedstead is made of this wood for the sick to lie on, [it is said that] the scent from it will give them great strength and support in their sickness.

HOW AND WITH WHAT PROCESSION AND CEREMONIES THE CATHOLICS BURY CHRIST.

While we were staying in Grand Canary it was Passion Week[25] of the Catholics, which is during the Easter Holidays, when it is their annual cus-

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[20] Evidently "the half-island Jucatan." See Ogilby, *America*, 222 ff.

[21] This is not a usual name for the island.

[22] St. Croix. For an early description, see Ogilby, *America*, 364–5.

[23] Hispaniola (Espanola). See *ibid.*, 314–6.

[24] *Guaiacum*, Spanish guayaco, of Indian origin.

[25] Old style, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 43.

tom to bury Christ, which is performed with such very magnificent and splendid ceremonies, astonishing to behold and worthy of notice, which I will here describe briefly.

1. Foremost walked the whole school, two and two abreast in order, the largest deacons[26] the farthest back, all dressed in white shirts[27] and yellow wings fastened to their shoulders, with yellow-flowered short [?] wigs, so that they looked like angels; and they performed the most beautiful and delightful music, during the whole of their march.

2. The images of the Prophets were carried in order, one after another, standing on the biers, dressed in black, wide, plaited silk gowns, starched, ruffled collars around their necks, every one holding a gilded book in his hands, as if they had been alive. On the side of each Prophet's bier walked from 50 to 60 men in mourning clothes, of long, black silk cloaks and silk crape hanging down from their hats, who were to change about in carrying.[28] Between each Prophet and his bier went about 100 persons, monks and others, two and two abreast and in order, who also performed delightful and pleasing music, during their march. The line was at least ¼ of a mile long[29] from where the school first began the procession to the Apostles who now follow.

3. [The images of] the Apostles, standing on

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[26] *The störste diäknarne*, the largest (*i.e.* oldest) scholars or deacons.

[27] *siortor, shirts, i.e.*, robes (?).

[28] *som omskijfta skulle att bära.*

[29] *¼mijl långh*, Swedish mile, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 42.

biers, were next carried, one after another, in order, dressed and ornamented in the same manner as the above, the carriers, walking at the sides, dressed in mourning clothes, [and] between each Apostle's bier walked monks and others in order, who also performed fine music, as has been related about the Prophets.

4. Then followed [images of] all the Evangelists, one after the other, in order, standing on their biers, similarly dressed and decorated, the carriers of the biers with the images walked at the sides in mourning clothes, between each Evangelist's bier monks and others in regular order, who also performed, on the way, fine and agreeable music, in the same manner as has been mentioned about the Prophets and Apostles.

5. After these came the carriers of Christ's Cross, from 500 to 600 persons. It appeared to me as if they had hunted up all the old timber in that country, which they came dragging along, three abreast in a row, pulling, carrying and dragging [it along] with such labor that the sweat stood on their brows. It was old and rotten timber, put together in the form of a cross, as thick as joists in a house. They preserve it from year to year to use it in Passion Week, although it is so much decayed that nothing more than a little stump remains of it, it would still have to be carried in the procession, for the older it is the more sacred it is considered by them; and he, who drags and carries the oldest part, is called Christ's Old Cross-bearer, and he, who shall have dragged Christ's Cross a long time, is held much more holy before

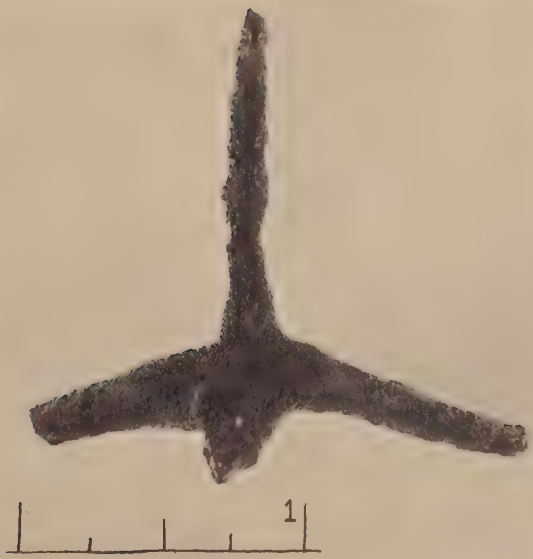
God, than he, who drags and pulls the newer lumber.

6. Next to it followed in order, two and two abreast in a line, between 2 and 300 persons who carried crowns of sharp pointed thorns, which they pricked so into their heads that the blood ran down their faces. Those who tormented themselves the most with the thorny crowns and could bleed the most, should be considered the holiest; therefore everyone exerted himself to the utmost he could to force the points of the thorns well into his head, so that their faces and clothes had the appearance of having been dipped in blood.

7. Hereupon followed at least 400 persons, two and two abreast in order, in a line, who whipped themselves on their bare body. For this purpose they used whips of strong twine lashes; to the end of each thread was fastened a steel implement with three points, sharp pointed, like needles, made something like *caltrops*.[30] With these instruments they whipped and tortured themselves most cruelly. During the whole time they walked in the procession, [they] thus whipped and tortured [themselves] that each blow thundered on the body and it [sounded] like smack, smack, smack, three strokes at a time, all one after an-

[30] *Footangler*, caltrops. A four-pointed iron instrument, formerly used in warfare. The four points were so arranged that three of them would always form a base like a tripod while the fourth pointed upwards, when the instrument was thrown on the ground. They were scattered on the ground to obstruct the passage of an enemy, especially cavalry.

Colonel Paxson, of Philadelphia, tells me that caltrops, popularly called crowfeet, were used by the settlers in Indian warfare. The instruments were strewn in the warpaths of the aborigines and at approaches to forts, etc. See reproduction of a caltrop, facing this page, plate 12.



12. Caltrop, dug up on an Indian Trail in Northampton Co., Pa.
[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

13. Fish (or turtle?) totem (soap-stone), the *pâahra* of Lindeström (see p. 207); natural size. This rare and interesting relic came from the site of Playwicky (see *Indian Names*). [From a Collection of Playwicky Indian Relics, since 1900 in the possession of Colonel Henry D. Paxson.]

other. This [they] kept up several times and whilst they breathed and stopped [with it] a little, the sharp points struck fast in their backs. But can one believe that they pulled them quickly out again and lashed themselves again with three strokes, all they were able, so that the blood ran in the street after them? Yes, he who could strike himself the most and treat himself the worst is considered the most holy and by God most beloved, so that he who treats and lashes himself, so that some from the monastery finally has to carry him home half dead, yes, he has through this merited and acquired the Kingdom of Heaven. But he who could by these means thus strike and beat himself to death would sit foremost in Heaven. (I believe deepest in the dark room.) It certainly appeared to me, that neither of them spared themselves. One can well think that there was no time for it,[31] as all were desirous to have a front seat in the Kingdom of God, for which they then contended; and with which they consoled themselves, saying: "As Christ has suffered, so must we also suffer." Those who whipped themselves were dressed in this habit, namely: Their body was covered with sackcloth, so tightly fitted to the body, as if it had been pasted on, yes, arms, thighs, legs and also face, only small holes were left in the cloth for the eyes, nose and mouth for them to see and breathe through. This sack was made so as to reach over and above the head and terminated like a tower, into which cotton was stuffed, so that it could stand stiff and erect.[32] On the middle of

[31] There was no time for sparing themselves.

[32] *så att det hölt sigh styfft* [*på*] *ända ståendes*, so that it kept itself stiff, standing on end.

the back was a large round hole in the cloth as wide as the back was broad. On that part of the bare body they whipped themselves.

8. After these followed in order two abreast, about 400 persons, dressed in long, wide, white shirts, with short gold-colored wigs and with large, gilded and silvered wings fastened to their shoulders, who also made excellent music.[33]

9. Hereafter came [the Image of] Christ, who was laid in a splendid coffin, carried on a bier, and a very beautiful and rich shroud, whose[34] face was painted as white as milk, with black hair, eyebrows and beard. The coffin was open and the lid was carried before the corpse, which[35] was also very costly. A crown of gold and precious stones was fastened above the head of Christ. On the sides walked 200 men in mourning clothes, with crape and long mourning cloaks, who were to change about in carrying the bier of Christ. All [the people] in the procession walked with bare heads. At the sides of those who carried was a great multitude, representing the holy Martyrs and Saints, dressed in large, long, white shirts, who also performed splendid and beautiful music.

When they now came carrying Christ's bier, and they got to see Mary, who immediately followed, all the people who stood on the street quickly threw themselves down on their knees, crying out, *Santa Maria, ora pro nobis.*[36] But I, who would not fall on my knees before a wooden image, re-

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[33] *hwilcke,* who, referring to 400 persons above.
[34] *hwilkens ansichte,* whose face, of course refers to Christ above.
[35] *som,* which, refers to lid above.
[36] Holy Mary, pray for us.

mained standing. When the people perceived it, I knew of nothing, before a shower of stones came flying about my ears. Where I stood, there lay a crowd of nuns on their knees; when they noticed this, the poor things had compassion on me [and], wishing to save me, they pulled on my clothes and drew me thus down to them, where I came to sit on a stone. When the people no longer saw me stand up, they did not throw any more stones at me.

10. After Christ's bier followed [the Image of] Mary, the Mother of Christ, who came, being carried[37] on a bier, on which she stood upright, as if she had been alive, in her mourning dress. At each side of Mary's bier walked 100 persons in mourning clothes with crape and long cloaks, who took their turn in carrying. On the sides of those, who carried, walked a great multitude of monks and others, who also held[38] a pleasing and excellent music.

11. All the people in mourning clothes streamed on after the Image of Mary, Christ's Mother, like wild goats, without any order, men and women, all mixed together, the one here, the other there, each one pressing forward. Those that could come nearest to the Image of Mary, their prayers should the soonest be heard. And there was with all of them together such screaming and shouting, like

[37] *som kom bärandes på een båhr* (modern Swedish would be: *som kom buren på en bår*).

[38] *som ochså höllo een härligh och kåsteligh musik*, who also kept [up] a splendid and excellent music. The Swedish *hålla* is used in certain idioms in the sense of to make or maintain, *hålla väsen*, to make or maintain noise, etc. Processions similar to those described by Lindeström still take place in the inland villages on the Canaries, Porto Rico, etc.

a war cry, with *Ave Maria, gratia plena, ora pro nobis,*[39] so that a person might be giddy in the head from it, wherewith the procession was concluded.

Then the procession marched in the above-mentioned order to the monasteries, out of the one cloister into the other, till they came to the last one, where Christ and the images were deposited. After this no order was kept up, but every one went by himself from one monastery to the other, where they ran, both in and out, falling only some little on their knees in each monastery, as they came and read a little of their *Paternoster,* which they had hanging on their arms.[40] It was fully midnight before Christ and the images were set down. But the whirling and running about of everybody, from one monastery to the other, lasted throughout the night. I also went with them throughout the whole night and viewed their doings. After Christ had been deposited, all the flagellants, or those who whipped themselves, went from one monastery to the other and whipped themselves, until they were no longer able [to do so], but had either to be led or carried to their homes.

But at other places where many Lutherans reside among them in towns, either citizens, or soldiers who might be in garrisons among them, they will not whip and torment themselves so publicly or openly in sight of the people, but guard against performing in the presence of the Lutherans, for they will then be mimicked by them. Therefore,

[39] See note 36, above.
[40] The rosary.

they have secret rooms and places in their monasteries, above the vaults, prepared for the purpose, the floors covered with all the Crucifixes of the Martyrs, along the sides Christ, Mary, the Evangelists and Prophets in a standing position. Then the flagellants place themselves on these martyrs which are spread about the floor, right before Christ's Crucifix and secretly within locked doors whip and scourge themselves so long, till they are no more able [to do it], where no Lutheran is allowed to get in to see it.

At each of these monasteries, which were eleven in Grand Canary, at each door of the monastery, there was a table covered with a white cloth, upon which stood some candlesticks with large candles in them, where four persons were sitting around each table, who were very busily engaged with writing, and there all who went in and out, had to throw money on the table. All the monasteries were inside so supplied with lights, so close together, both on the ceilings, walls and in the chandeliers, [that it appeared] like the very clearest sky in winter studded with stars. The space between each candle flame[41] was not over the breadth of three fingers square, so that it was a great pleasure to be in there, and one could well have wished that, as long as he was to live here in the world, he could have, during all winter nights in Sweden, such splendid candle light about him, through which so much melancholy could be expelled; the longing for which gladdened one's heart, like the sun with its agreeable lustre.

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[41] *icke öfwer tree fingers bredt j fyrkant emellan hwar liuslåga.*

HOW THE CATHOLICS IN POPEDOM, IN READING THEIR SINGULAR ROSARUM AMANTIUM AND WITH THEIR DEAR PATERNOSTER, IMAGINE THAT THEY CAN APPEASE GOD.

In Popedom they use a curious *Rosarum Amantium,* a dear *Paternoster,* imagining that through it they appease God. When they drop the largest bead, the name Jesus must always be mentioned. The Catholics place themselves right before Christ's Crucifix in the monasteries, with crossing the forehead and breast, and with their bowing and courtesying, then it appears to them, as if Christ should address and ask them each by name, Johannes, Andreas, Paulus, Maria, Anna, Elizabeth, three times in succession, saying:

1. Lovest thou Me? Then the Catholic answers with 10 small beads, which he drops from his *Paternoster* [saying]: "Plus commodis et delicjs plus gemis et devitijs, plus omnibus honoribus, plus fratribus et sororibus, plus liberis et parentibus, plus charis omnibus, amo te. That is: More than all utility and desire, more than gems and riches, more than all honor and glory, more than brothers and sisters, more than children and parents, more than the most dearly beloved, so do I love Thee.[42]

2. Lovest thou Me? Again the Catholic answers: Pro te morbos, pro te cruces, pro te Famene, pro te Sitem, pro te patj, pro te morj milies desidero. That is: For Thee suffer sick-

[42] It was apparently a special prayer used on the Canaries, as my friend, Dr. W. J. Lonergan, submitted it to "several eminent Latinists, and none of them ever heard of it."

ness, for Thee suffer torture, for Thee suffer evil repute, for Thee suffer thirst, for Thee suffer endurance, for Thee to die I desire a thousand times.

3. Lovest thou Me? The Catholic answers again: Mi Jesu, utinam amemte, ut Martijres, ut Apostolj, ut Cherubim et Seraphim, ut Mater tua, ut omnes Coelites, ut moriar amore tuj, quia amore mej morj voluistj. That is: My Jesus, O that I could so love Thee, like the Martyrs, like the Apostles, like the Cherubim and Seraphim, like Thy Mother, like all the Heavenly [Host]. O that I could die for the sake of Thy love, because on account of the love Thou hast borne to me, Thou hast been willing to suffer the most ignominious death.[43]

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[43] *hafwer weelat lijdit den smäligaste dödh.*

LINDESTRÖM'S *Map* (B) OF NEW SWEDEN. FROM THE MANUSCRIPT MAP IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, STOCKHOLM. THIS IS A COPY, PROBABLY OF 1696, POSSIBLY FROM LINDESTRÖM'S LARGE MAP OF NEW SWEDEN, WHICH "HUNG ON THE WALL OF THE ROYAL CHAMBER IN THE PALACE." CF. JOHNSON, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 555. FRAMED COPY IN HIST. SO. OF PA.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Navigation of the New Sweden or South River From the Capes, the Whole Distance up to the Fall Asinpinck.

New Sweden or South River at both Capes is exactly on the Meridian of the 39th degree of latitude.[1] Cape Henlopen and Cape May are situated from one another 3 miles[2] south-west by west and north-east by east, and the width of the bay or inlet is 5 miles. And about south-west by west, from Cape May about ⅔ of a mile, from Cape Henlopen, lie, in a row south-west by west, three large oyster banks, not deep under the water. The channels, or where the water runs between said oyster banks, are dangerous to navigate ships through, but about a musketshot out from Cape May ships can pass through at a depth of 5, 4½ and 4 fathoms, [even] when it is the very lowest and dryest. From Cape Henlopen the sailing channel passes some distance out in the ocean, passing the opening between Cape Henlopen and the above [mentioned] oyster banks,[3] in towards the river, having a depth of 10, 9, 8 fathoms, but outside [of the banks] 12 and 13 fathoms. From Cape Henlopen to the Haert Kill[4] [the direction] is about

[1] The 39° passes practically midway between Cape Henlopen and East Point, and hence Lindeström is exact in his determination. The latitude of the early explorers is usually correct, while the longitude is generally rather inaccurate, due to their inadequate instruments.

[2] German miles, see Lindeström's map of New Sweden.

[3] *Ostre banker.* Cf. maps of Evans, Sauthier, etc.

[4] Haert Kill, given as Blommer's Kill on Lindeström's map (from the fact that Blommaert with others had a colony there), same as Horn Kill, Hoerekill (Whorekill). See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 171, 206.

west by north and west north-west. About a mile on the roadstead out towards the ocean the depth in front of the above-named kill is about 5 fathoms, but after this it is somewhat sloping and shallow. [At] a point which is situated about east south-east, and south-east by east from the said kill, the depth at high water is between 4 and 5 feet, but when it is ebb tide or low water, the ground is dry, here and there the depth is variable, in some places deep and some places shallow.

The savage tribe, living there, Sironesack[5] by name, is a powerful nation and rich in maize plantations.

From Cape Henlopen north by east, the channel near the bank has a depth of 7 fathoms. From there we set the rudder in the direction north north-west, about 3 miles, then going north-west by north, we come into the mouth of the river.

	Miles
The distance from Cape May to the mouth of the South River north north west, over both depths and shallows all the way north north-west	9
Following the first course we go north by west and north-west	3
The second we go north	1½
The third [course] we go in the Bay north north-west and north by west	1½
The fourth course north-east by north, which may also be traversed north-east and somewhat more easterly	2
Now we come into the fresh water of the river east and east by north	2

Then we have the Island of Navattiromp or Jacob's[6] Island. This we leave to larboard with a sloop,—we can also get

[5] *Sironesack*, possibly a branch of the Shawnee (probably meaning Southerners, by the sea?) possibly the same as (or a branch of) the *Sarapinagh (Soraphanigh)*, of Smith and Purchas. Cf. Nelson, *Indians*, 100.

[6] *Jacob's (James') Island*. From Lindeström's sailing directions it is clear that he means Chester Island, also called Jacque's

through to the north of Narraticon's Island over the shoals, sailing in a gabbard, then we also leave Narraticon's[7] Island to larboard up to Keyser Island[8] east north-east[9] 2

From Keyser Island to Fisk Island[10] east north-east 1

Then our advance to Fogelsandh[11], whose shallows are dry in summer, which is north from Fisk Island to Fogelsandh 3

Then follows a deceptive and false course, the first course from Aquikanaska Island[12] east 1

Then east and east by north up to Tinnekonck Island[13] 6

Then we pass around Tinnekonck Island north-east by east, north-east and east ..... ½

Further north-east 1

Then down around Mechansio Island[14] east south-east 1

Island (Jacob's Island), but the island indicated on the map as *23. Jacobs öö* is near the Jersey shore and fits better with Monds Island. See *U. S. Geol. Atlas*, Phila. Fol., 1909.

[7] *Narraticon's Island.* Raccoon or Tonkin's Island. At the mouth of *Narraticons Kijl* on Lindeström's map is an island but without name. This is apparently *Narraticons Eijlandh* of Lindeström's text and Raccoon Island of to-day; but according to the sailing directions this identification is not possible, unless the topography has changed greatly since then. Sailing up the river we would not "leave Raccoon Island to larboard, but to starboard." See *U. S. Geol. Atlas*, Phila. Fol., 1909. It is likely that Lindeström made a mistake when copying his notes, writing *Baak Bordh* instead of *Styr Bordh.*

[8] *Keijsser Island*, Hog Island. Cf. Scull's *Map, 1750.* On Lindeström's map there are two islands, without name, above *Koijsser Island.* These undoubtedly correspond to the two islands given by Scull, one of which is Mud Island, at the mouth of Mingo Creek. See Scull's *Map, 1750.* The topography is quite different in the *U. S. Geol. Atlas*, Phila. Fol., 1909.

[9] *ost nordh ost.*

[10] *Fisk Island* (Fish Island); League Island. Cf. Scull's *Map, 1750.* The shape of the island given by Lindeström and Scull is the same (long, narrow, like an Indian double-pointed stone dagger), unlike the modern form given in the *U. S. Geol. Atlas*, Phila. Fol., 1909.

[11] *Fogelsandh* (Bird-sand), also called *Asoepecka*, flats somewhat below Point no Point.

[12] *Aequikenaska Island*, Petty Island, at the mouth of Cooper Creek.

[13] *Tinnekonck Island*, now Burlington Island.

[14] *Mechansio Island*, Newbold Island (also called Biddle Island). This is the same word as *Machihachansio* (on Dutch maps

From Mechansio Island to Packquimensi Sippus[15] north-east and east 1

From Pachquimensi Sippus to the shore of Sanckikan[16] east by north and north by west and north-west 1½

To Sanckikans proper we can then pass[17] in about ½ an hour. But with canoes (the boats of the savages, made like the hollowed out boats with us in Sweden) we can get from Sanckikans right up to the fall Asinpinck[18], which is .. 2

Sum [total] of the length of the [Delaware] River 39½

Above the Falls Asinpinck the savages can go with their canoes wherever they please. On the sides of the South River are found some remarkable creeks and large brooks, which we can navigate with sloops a considerable distance up into the country. And in many streams and brooks here in the river are found many suitable falls, where different kinds of mills could be erected. This is in brief about the navigation of the river.

Magechqueshou), found in the Dutch Documents on the boundary dispute with the Swedes. See *Doc.*, I, 292, etc. It seems strange that this island should be called *Mechansio*, when the river or creek given that name is located some distance further up the river, but there must have been some distinguishing mark that gave the same name to both. It seems probable that the island in 1654–5 was claimed by Indians on the Jersey side of the Delaware, possibly by the Mantas, (see Chapt. V, note 36), as the name was attached to other localities on the east bank of the River.

This island is apparently the same as Chepiessingh of Dankers and Sluyter (*Journal, Mem. of the Long Island Hist. So.*, I, map, 1679). At that time (1678–82) the island was claimed by the Indians living on the Pennsylvania side of the River, and the land there, opposite the island, was called *Chepiessingh (Tchepiessing)*, *Soepassinck*, *Sipaessingsland*, etc., see Lindeström's map, below; Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal, map, 1679; Penn. Archives* (1852), I, 49. The Island was included in the tracts sold by the Indians to Wm. Penn in 1682 (called *Sepassinck* in the deed), see *Penn. Archives* (1852), I, 48.

[15] *Packquimensi Sippus*, Crosswick Creek.

[16] *Sanckickan*, District about Moon and Biles' Islands.

[17] *Till sielfva Sanckickan kan man sedan umtrent på ½ tijme rum spassera (spatsera)*; we can walk, promenade, etc.

[18] *Asinpinck Fall*, the Falls of the Delaware.

Nova Suecia: Eller the Swenskas R

A: Oster Bancker. B: Tamakonck, de Sandhoeck, nu kallas Treefaldigheets Fort. C: Nieu Claerlands. D: Strandwijk. E: Trane Udden. F: Lillefalsudden. G: Christina Kijl. H: Fiskiekijlen. Naamansfallet. K: Imminickheeck Hackingh. S: Fruen Udden, Semockan. Kakimensj memanchitonna. oc marinckekijl I: Finlands. U: Wolands. W: Stillrudsbij. X: Tinnakonck. ij: Boore-aller. Hackotessingh. 4. Kentkateck. 5. Trakonick. 6. Pessconinghackingh. 7. Mechansio Eijlands. 8. Mechopinackan. 9. Rophakeskij. 10. Assajungh. 11. Tinnekoncks Eijlands. 12: Marachonsic Kanick. 22. Mantes Kijl. 23. Jacobs Öö. 24. Längs Udden. 25. Kagkika nzackiens Sippus. 26. Obissqualoit. 27. Asamohackingh Kijl. s.

Lindeström's Map (A) of "Nova Suecia, Eller the Swenskas Revier in India Occidenta

Names Indicated by

A

Oster Bancker.
"Oyster banks."

B

Tamakonck, de Sandhoeck, nu kallas Treefaldigheets Fort.
"Tamakonck, the Sandhoeck, now called Trinity Fort." New Castle. The creek to the left of *B* on *Map* is Mill Creek.

C

Nieu Claerlandh.
"New[ly] cleared land." Plantations just about New Castle, Delaware.

D

Strandwijk.
"Strand-bay." Neck of high land about a mile and a half above New Castle.

E

Tranеudden.
"The crane point." Point of high land about half a mile below Pigeon Point, Del., opposite Deepwater Point.

F

Lillefalsudden.
"The little-falls point."

G

Christinakijl.
Christina (Christiana) Creek.

H

Fiskiekijlen, och det prickade äro Rijtflachter.
"Fish creek and the dotted [places] are reed flats."

J

Hatoetsanningh eller Timeröön ("or Timber island"). The Indian name would seem to mean the "Island of Timber," but I know of no stem resembling the above form, which means wood, or timber.

K

Rijtflacht.
"Reedflat." Cherry Island Marsh, near Wilmington, Del.

L

Amimenipatj.
District between the Delaware and the Brandywine.

M

Fiskiekijlsfallet.
"The fish-creek fall."

N

Skillpaddefallet.
"Turtle falls." Shellpot Creek.

O

Christina Fort.
Wilmington, Del.

P

Wijndrufweudden.
"The grape point." Just below Naaman Creek.

Q

Naamansfallet.
"Naaman's fall" (see *Naamans Kijl*).

R

Imminickheck Hackingh.
Perhaps Indian village and plantation along Delaware, above Naaman Creek.

S

Fruen udden.
"The lady's point," now

Names Indicated by

Foglesandh eller ("Bird-sand or") *Asorpecka.*
(See p. 155, note 11.)

2

Sipaessingskijl.
Scotts or Welcome Creek, emptying into the Delaware before *Pessenewinsing* (Mint Island).

3

Tehackotessingh.
Possibly Indian Creek, Bucks County, Pa.

4

Kentkateck.
Moon Island (?) in the Delaware.

5

Trakonick.
Either the district at present Bordentown, N. J., or the name for what is now Blacks Creek (?). (See *U. S. Geol. Atlas*, Phila. *Fol.*, 1909. Cf. *Bissachtcon Sippussingh.*)

6

Pessconinghackingh.
Perhaps a plantation or Indian village near present Fieldsboro, N. J.

7

Mechansio Eijlandh.
Newbold Island (see below, pp. 311, 348).

8

Mechopinachan.
Possibly an Indian plantation in the bend of the Delaware, at and below Florence, N. J. Cf. below, p. 347.

9

Rophakeskij.
Possibly small Indian village above Burlington Island, N. J.

10

Assajungh.
Possibly an Indian village at present East Burlington, near the mouth of Assiscunk Creek.

11

Tinnekoncks Eijlandh.
Burlington Island, N. J.

12

Marachonsicka.
Present Burlington, N. J., below Assiscunk Creek.

13

Arothama plantage.
Indian plantation at or near Cooperstown, N. J.

Names o

Aekan Mamangåhå (*Ackanamangoho*).
District west of present New Castle, perhaps near the southern limit of Christina (Christeena) Creek.

Aldermans Kijlen.
Oldmans Creek.

Aeskins Kijlen.
Aeskins (Dutch), *eeskin*, *-kijl* (Dutch), creek, channel, *-en*, (Dutch, def. art.) the, hence, "the eeskin creek." New Frankford Creek (Tacony Creek). Above this creek were the great "hunting grounds of the Lenapes" (see Lindeström's *Map* (B)).

Alummongh hooter aelfwa plat-son.
"The place itself is called *Alummongh*." The high ground at the bend of the Delaware opposite Duck Island.

Ancke Kijhlen.
"Duck Creek," now Great, or Old Duck Creek. At the mouth of this creek, Lindeström has an island, which is probably Little Bombay Hook, also called Bombay Hook Island.

Annesarhickan.
Apparently the point between Dunks Ferry and the Neshaminy Creek (western bank). Cf. pp. 168, 305, below.

Assamoes.
Probably district at Newton Creek, or it may refer to Newton Creek Main Branch. Cf. 18. *Toledo.* "See U. S. *Geol. Atlas*, Phila. Fol., 1909.)

Assamo Hackingh.
Apparently Indian village and plantation ten or fifteen miles from the mouth of Alloway Creek, N. J.

Asinpinck affallit.
"The Asinpinck fall." Falls of the Delaware. (See below, pp. 309-10.)

Assveticons Revier eller Ridderr Kijlen.
"Assveticon river, or the Knight's river." Maurice River, N. J.

Bissachtcon Sippussingh.
Probably Blacks Creek. (See 5. *Trakonick.*)

Blommers Kijhl.
Also known as *Hornkil* and *Hoerekil;* now Lewes Creek (see p. 153, foot-note 4); Broadkill Creek.

Bomtiens Udden.
Bombay Hook Point, between the mouth of Old Duck Creek and Duck Creek.

Camaelkijlen.
"The camel creek." small creek or run about half a mile above Oldmans Point, N. J. (*U. S. Geol. Surv.*)

Cammens Eijlandh.
"The comb (?) island." Egg Island Point, or Egg Island.

Domhittticon.
Apparently Mill Creek, joining Rancocas Creek about three and one-half miles above Delanco, N. J.

Draakekijlen.
Apparently "the dragon creek." Poquessing Creek, Pa. (See *Poaetquessingh.*)

Drunecudden.
"Grape point." Possibly Oldmans Point, Upper Penns Neck, N. J.

Elfsborg.
(Fort Elfsborg), above Alloway Creek, N. J.

Fallet Asinpinck.
"The Asinpinck fall." Falls of the Delaware.

Furu Udden.
"The pine-tree point." Apparently a point on the south bank of the Christina (Christiana) Creek, covered with pine trees, perhaps a mile and a half due north from Farnhurst, New Castle County, Del.

Hackaeszockan.
Common Creek, at Tullytown, Pa.

Häger Udden.
"Heron Point"; probably Liston Point.

Happamao eller plommon öö.
"Happamão or plum island." Located by Lindeström opposite *Menahanonck* (Biles Island), but it is possibly the first of the little islands given in *U. S. Geol. Surv.* below Duck Island.

Hiortekijlen.
"Deer creek"; small stream about a mile above Cooper Creek, emptying into the Delaware at Stockton, N. J., opposite Petty Island.

Hiortudd.
"Deer point." Perhaps the point on the north bank of the Christina (Christiana) Creek, where the Baltimore and Washington R. R. crosses the creek above Wilmington, Del.

Hwiskakimensj.
Place (possibly Indian village) near or somewhat north of Newport, Del. (See pp. 326-7, below.)

Kackamensj.
Place about Point no Point, Philadelphia.

Kackhaicon (?).
Perhaps Darby Creek, or a place on this creek. (But see below, p. 394.)

Kagkikanizackien.
Indian village and plantation, in Salem County, N. J., perhaps near Woodstown.

Kees und brodts öö eller Rödhleers öö.
"The cheese and bread island, or the red clay island." Bread and Cheese Island in the great bend of Red Clay Creek, below Stanton, Delaware. It is interesting to note that the old name used by Lindeström has been preserved in translation.

Kikimenskijl.
Neshaminy Creek, Pa.

Korten Rivier.
"The short river" (?), Alloway Creek, N. J.

Koijäkä.
See *Koijäkä* in Appendix, below.

Kröke Kijlen eller Tenakons Kijl eller Pelkohockan.
Crum Creek.

Krijkon öö.
"Plum island." Duck Island (?).

Lillefallskijlen.
"Little fall creek," or "the creek of the little fall."

Manahattans wagar.
"The roads (or paths) to Manhattan" (New Amsterdam).

Mechansio Bergh, fins sölfwermetall.
"Mechansio mountain, silvermetal is found [there]."

Mechansio Sippus.
Perhaps small stream just above Bordentown, New Jersey.

Mehanhickan eller Schalmutzkijlen.
"Mehanhickan or the Schalmutz Creek.' (See below, pp. 347-8.)

Memirako.
Repaupo Creek, N. J.

Menacamickon.
District, or Indian village, on the north bank of Crosswicks Creek, half a mile south of South Park, N. J.

Menahanonck.
Biles Island. (See below, pp. 349-50.)

Menejackse Kijl.
Schuylkill.

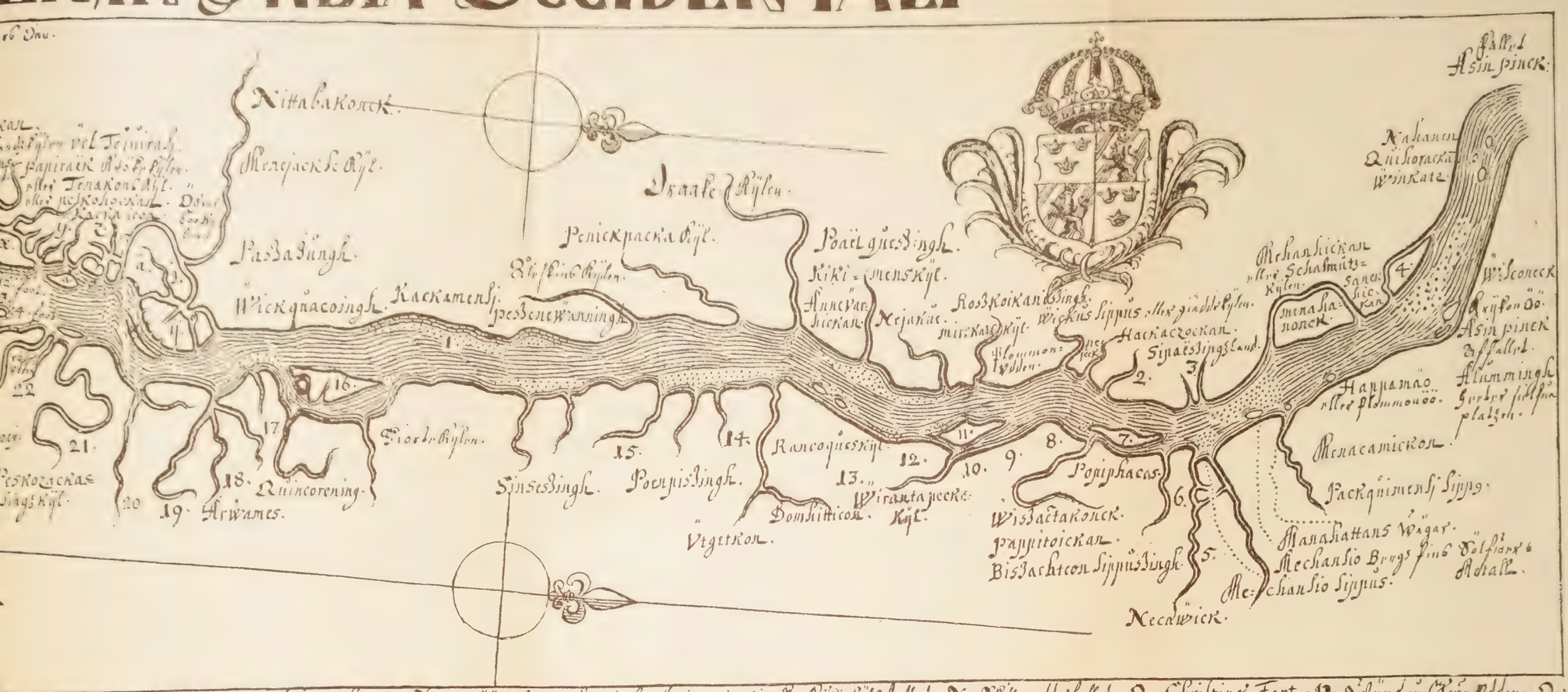
Merikats Kijl.
The arm or fork of Mill Creek forming the eastern boundary of Bristol, called Hollow Creek (?). Hollow Creek and Otter Creek united at Millpond. Above the pond the creek is called Mill Creek.

Mesckopenackan.
Perhaps a plantation and Indian village at Chester, Pa.; possibly also the Indian name for Chester Creek.

Minques Kijl eller (or) *Apoquenema.*
Now Appoquinimink Creek. This refers to the larger of the two streams next to the name and not the stream that cuts into the name on Lindeström's *map*, which is Blackbird Creek. See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 1, 164 (*map*).

Mordare Kijhlen.
"Murder creek." (See *map*, facing page 164, Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 1.) This is evidently the creek called Mother Kill on maps as late as the latter part of the 19th century (see *map*, copyright, 1878, by J. H. Butler & Co.); probably the

ER, IN INDIA OCCIDENTALI.



ckade åro Kijl Fenglen. J: Hatoett Jamningh. eller Timmeröön. K: Kijl Flaegt. L: Animenipay. M: Piskir kijls fallrl. N: Pilt paddre fallrl. O: Christina Fort. P: Wijndrn Wär Odden. Q: Kijlen. R: Kinsessingh. Ä: Kijsser Eylands. Ä: Manasonck. Ö: Piskir Eylands. J: Follendarre Kijlen. Y: Drufwe Eylands. Num. 1. Pogkrejands eller Asopecka. 2: Sjnaesbingskijl. 3: Te= Arothama plantage. 14. Subtonhackingh. 15. Strutzkijlen. 16. Equikenaska. 17. Sassaekon. 18. Tekoke. 19. Tetamekonck6 Kijl. 20. Hackomene Hackingh. 21. Kano=

New Sweden or the Swedes' River in the West Indies) FROM ORIGINAL IN THE *Geographia*

ers Below Map

erals Below Map

tochackingh.
istrict between present
wede Run and Rancocas
reek, N. J., or possibly
se Indian name for pres-
nt Swede Run, about a
ile and a half below Ran-
cas Creek, N. J.

U
Uplandh.
Between Chester and Ridley Creeks, now Chester, Pa. (See *Map*, in Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, facing p. 496.)

W
Stillensud.
"The Stille point," sharp bend or point in Crum Creek, on the west side, perhaps just below Avondale, Delaware County, Pa.

X
Tennakonck.
Tinicum Island, Pa.

Y
Böoke-eller Kijrckiekijlen.
Perhaps what is given as Boons Creek on Scull's *Map* (1750); unless it stands for Darby Creek (but see *Kackhaicon*). The creek between this and *Tenakons Kijl* is probably Cobb's Creek, called *Swead's Mill Creek* on an old survey (about 1720). The second name (*Kijrckiekijlen*, "the church creek") survives in Church Creek, Following Essington Ave. from 80th to 88th Sts., Philadelphia.

Z
Kinsissingh.
Kingsessing, West. Philadelphia, Pa.

Ä
Keijsser Eijlandh.
Hog Island (see p. 155, foot-note 8).

Ä
Manasonck.
What was probably later called Carpenters and Province Islands, or Province Island (see Scull's *Map*).

Ö
Fiskie Eijlandh.
"Fish island." League Island (see p. 155, foot-note 10).

I
Hollendarekijlen.
"The Hollander Creek." Hollander Creek, Philadelphia.

Y
Drwfwe Eijlandh.
"Grape Island," apparently the island (Moyamensing Township), formed by Hollander Creek (see Scull's *Map, 1750*). Lindeström's *Map* is not clear and his location of Hollander Creek is not correct.

Map

e as Murther [Kill]
d on map published in
ieuse Nachricht von
naylvania, 1704. This is
ably the name which sur-
s in Murderkill Creek;
Lindeström's *Mordare*
kl is apparently either
ar Creek, or Mispillion
er.

ans Kijl.
man Creek. Naaman was
Indian Chief, hence Naa-
's Creek from the fact,
aps, that he lived on the
r at some time, or
med jurisdiction over it.

en.
ll island just below Tren-
N. J.

ticonskijl.
coon Creek, N. J. This
k was probably called
enum-hannek, or *Espan-*
s by the Indians. The
nd at its mouth is *Nar-*
con ö (Jacobs ö), now
coon or Tonkins Island.

ick.
ier a district or Indian
age, perhaps about pres-
Georgetown, near Bacons
; or it may be the name
Blacks Creek, N. J.

Nejakue [sipus].
The lower arm or fork of Mill Creek, below Bristol. I am told that a flour mill was located on this stream, probably at the place referred to by Lindeström in his description of this section of the Delaware Country. (See above, p. 168. Cf. *U. S. Geol. Surv.*) This arm of Mill Creek, or rather outlet of Millpond, swings to the west like the creek on Lindeström's *Map* called *Nijakue*. The arm of Mill Creek bordering Bristol directly to the west is, or was, called Otter Creek, perhaps, from John Otter (see Holme's *Map*). This outlet of Mill pond is not indicated on Lindeström's *Map*.

Nejeck.
Point at the mouth of Scotts Creek, west bank, Bucks County, Pa.

Nittabakonck.
Indian village and plantation above the Falls of the Schuylkill, Fairmount Park, east bank. (See below, p. 363.)

Nöötebohms öen.
"The black walnut (?) island." The peninsula formed by Christiana and Mill Creeks, above Wilmington, Del.

Ohrnebookijlen.
"The eagle nest creek."

Oijtsessingh.
Present Elsingboro Tnsh., Salem Co., N. J. (See p. 157, note 1.)

Packquimensj Sipp[u]s.
Crosswicks Creek, N. J. There is some uncertainty about the identification of *Packquimensj Sippus*. In some respects Crosswicks Creek fits in better with *Mechansio Sippus* (*Necawick* in that case being Black Creek, near Bordentown, N. J.), but the sailing direction given in Chapt. IV (p. 156, above) brings us to Crosswicks (Crosswick) Creek.

Paradijsct.
"The paradise." District on the western bank of the Delaware above Broadkill Creek.

Paradijsudden.
"The Paradise Point." Possibly the point at Slaughter Beach, or at Cedar Beach.

Passajungh.
(See below, p. 368.)

Penickpacka Kijl.
Pennypack Creek, Pa.

Peskozackassingskijl.
Woodbury Creek. The island on Lindeström's *Map*, between the mouths of *Mantes-kijl.* (Mantua Creek) and *Peskozackassingskijl* (Woodbury Creek), is indicated a little higher up the river, below Eagle Point, on *U. S. Geol. Atlas*, Phila. Fol., 1909.

Pessenewanningh.
Bridesburg, below Frankford Creek.

Plommon Udden.
"Plum point." Place above the small creek just east of Bristol, Pa.

Poaelquessingh.
Poquessing Creek.

Poenpissingh.
Pompeston Creek, N. J., and district along the creek.

Popiphacas.
If Lindeström intends the name for the creek below *Mechansio Eijlandh* (Newbold Island), it is undoubtedly Crafts Creek. (*U. S. Geol. Surv.*)

Quihoracka.
Small island just below Trenton, N. J.

Quincorening.
Cooper Creek, above Camden, N. J.

Rancoquesckijl.
"The creek of the Rancoques [Indians]." Rancocas Creek, N. J.

Riddare Kijlen.
"The knight's river." Maurice River, N. J.

Röder udden.
"The red point"; point on the Delaware below mouth of Mantua Creek, Billingsport, N. J.

Rosskoikanessingh.
Possibly an Indian village to the east of Millpond, above Bristol, Pa.

Salunge.
(See below, p. 380.)

Sanckhickan.
Trenton, N. J. (See below, p. 380 ff.)

Sepa Hackingh.
Possibly Indian village and plantation, or district about Cohansey Creek, at Dutch Neck, N. J.

Sickpeckons Sippunck.
Possibly White Clay Creek, Del.

Sinsessingh.
District about Pochack Creek, N. J., or possibly Indian name for Pochack Creek.

Sipacssingzland.
(See below, pp. 167 ff., 386).

Spinnelludden.
"Spider Point." probably what is called Kent Island on the *U. S. Coast Surv. Map.*

Stillensland.
"The land of Stille," at Upland, Chester, Pa.

Tasckhockung.
If this name refers to the river below, it is either present Red Lion Creek, or Tom Creek, emptying into the Delaware in the Hamburg Cove, opposite Finns Point.

Tasswaijres Kijl.
Upper arm of Christiana (Christina) Creek.

Tenakonskijl.
Darby Creek (?), or Crum Creek. See *Kröke kijlen.*

Tesswijreskijl.
Perhaps Mill Creek above Wilmington, Del.

Trelm(?) Öö.
Reedy Island in the Delaware.

Uplandz kijlen.
"Upland creek." Ridley Creek (?), Pa.

Vtgetkon.
Small tributary on the south bank of the Rancocas Creek, N. J.

Wargekijhlen.
"Wolf kill." This has been identified as Little Creek; but it apparently refers to what is now either Murderkill Creek or St. Jones Creek.

Wickquacoingh.
Wicaco, Philadelphia.

Wickus Sippus eller giädde-kijlen.
"Wickus creek or the pickerel creek." Small creek, not far below Common Creek, Bucks County, Pa. (*U. S. Geol. Surv.*), no name given on the maps.

Winkate.
Small island just below Trenton, N. J.

Wirantapecke Kijl.
Assiscunk Creek, N. J.

Wisconeck.
District opposite Moon Island.

Wissacktakonck.
Perhaps name for Crafts Creek, N. J. (but see *Popiphacas*).

Wiwenskisackocij Sippus.
Clonmell Creek, N. J.

21
Kanokanick.
District up along Woodbury Creek, N. J.

22
Manteskijl.
Mantua Creek, N. J.

23
Jacobs öö.
James Island, Chester Island (see p. 154, foot-note 6).

24
Långsudden.
"The long point," above Oldmans Creek, Gloucester Co., N. J.

25
Kagkikanizackiens (?). Sippus (see *Kagkikanizackien*). Oldsmans Creek, N. J.

26
Obissquasoit.
Mill Creek, Lower Penns Neck, N. J.

27
Asamo Hackingskijl.
Salem Creek (see p. 308).

15
Strutzkijlen.
"The ostrich creek," possibly Pensauken Creek, N. J.

16
Aequikenaska.
Petty Island (Treaty Island) in the Delaware.

17
Sassaekon.
Present Camden, N. J., possibly also Indian name for North Branch of Newton Creek, N. J.

18
Tekoke.
District at Newton Creek, N. J., probably also referring to the Main Branch of this stream.

19
Tetamckonckskijl.
Newton creek, South Branch. (See *U. S. Geol. Atlas*, Phila. Fol., 1909.)

20
Hackomene Hackingh.
District about Big and Little Timber Creeks, or it may refer particularly to Big Timber Creek.

By Amandus Johnson

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Situation and Conditions of the Countries of New Sweden Which are Located on Both Sides, as Well on the West as on the East Side, on the River Bank.

Concerning the countries from the mouth of the above-mentioned South River in New Sweden on the east side, (if we should follow it to the falls Asinpinck, above Sankickans, and then the west side, back to the mouth of the river) [it is to be stated that] there are found at Oydtsessingh[1] lands which are at some places one-half and two miles in width from the edge of the river to [the edge of] the forest, so that [there] is nothing remarkable to be reported about it. At this Oydtsessingh the Swedes have built Fort Elfsborg, which they were, however, obliged to abandon on account of mosquitoes, about which mention was made before.[2] From Oydtsessingh upwards to a river or creek Asamozackeinh[3] by name, the soil is quite light, mixed with black earth and sand. [It] is not particularly healthy, because it is situated near such large boggy valleys,[4] from whose stinking air one is liable to be infected in summer time, so that it is apt to cause sickness. Between Asamo-

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[1] *Oydtsessingh*, the districts from Salem Creek to Alloway's Creek, Salem City and Elsinborough township, Salem County, N. J.

[2] See above, Chapt. II.

[3] *Asamozackeinh* (on map *Asamohacking*), Salem Creek.

[4] *Emädan hon breedewijdh så stoore sumpige daalar är belägin.*

zackeinh and a kill or creek, Kackschikanizackien,[5] by name, the country is covered with valleys in some places along the river, but not very broad, running up to several places on the fast land.[6] The soil here is found to be mixed with black earth and sand, but unlike and much better than that at Oydtsessingh, entirely fertile and suitable for tobacco-plantations, and beautiful and rare fruit-bearing trees. At this place there is also fine pasture-land and many beautiful splendid and fruitful valleys, which extend from the river up into the country. [The district] is also blessed with some fishful rivers and creeks, penetrating [the country and containing an abundance] of all kinds of fish.

From Kackikanizackien to Memirako[7] the country is for the most part similar to that above [described], and within this district are situated some islands; yet these are nothing but mere high reed flats (just as here in Sweden with us the three-edged reed grass usually grows in the muddy inland lakes, grown together so firmly by the great number of thick strong roots that they [can] carry a man [who] walks on them; but below stands water and mud).

On these islands or reed flats there is a species of roots which grow along the land in abundance and which are called hog turnips[8] by us Swedes, in appearance and taste almost like artichokes,[9]

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[5] *Kackschikanizackien* (on the map *Kagkikanizackiens Sippus*), also given as *Åldermans Kijlen* on map, Oldmans Creek.

[6] *Åthskillige platzer å fasta landet*, on the main or firm land.

[7] *Memirako*, Repaupo Creek.

[8] *Swijneroffwor.*

[9] *Artzskocker.*

which the savages collect and subsist upon, when bread and grain give out. The hogs also feed on these roots in the winter season, through which they get mighty fat, as if they had been [regularly] fattened. The hogs are not housed there in the winter, but they allow them to run in the forest, winter and summer, like wild hogs to increase. And when we want to slaughter some of them we shoot them to death.

In some parts of the river the said islands or reed flats are a great obstruction to navigation when there is a dry summer, so that it is to be feared that it will be found somewhat shallow for those vessels to get through at this place, which draw 15 to 16 feet of water. Here the water in the river now begins to be somewhat more fresh and sweet, and much richer in fish than below. The land [here] is entirely level, good and convenient for cultivation. (Then upwards from Memirako to Hackomenehackien).[10] Then upwards from Memirako to Hackomene Hackien, all along the river shore it is inconvenient to land with any vessels, for some of the bays and coves are thickly over-run with brushwood,[11] such as briers, hawthorns and black thorns,[12] as well as shallows,[13] all of which help to prevent a landing.

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[10] *Hackomenehackien*, on map *Hackomene Hackingh*. District about Big and Little Timber Creeks. Perhaps Lindeström means Big Timber Creek. The parenthesis is Lindeström's. He undoubtedly intended to strike this out.

[11] *Medh kreeplebuskar . . . öfwerberände. Kreeplebuskar* (*kruppelbuskar*, note 17, below), is the Dutch *krepel-* (or *kreupel-*) *bosch*, underbrush, thicket.

[12] *Törne, hacktorn och stärckebärshbuskar.*

[13] The idea is, that shallows or low places are also found there.

But where the river runs close to the firm land,[14] the land is high but not very convenient for use.[15] At this place there also grows a great quantity of spruce trees, but in this country these spruce trees are endowed with a different and a more delightful and sweet fragrance than those in Sweden, so that a sick [person] may recover his health through it.[16] At this place three large kills or creeks extend into the country, on the sides [covered] with brushwood and valleys.[17] Beyond this it is again safe to pass through in the river with vessels which draw from 10 to 11 feet of water.

From Hackomene Hacking to Tekoke, where[18] those from New Holland in the time of Governor Sir Johan Printz built a fortress, Fort Nassau by name;[18a] from which place the Hollanders were expelled by Governor Printz and the said fort [was] afterwards totally destroyed and ruined by the

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[14] That is: where the river runs along the bank without intervening mudflats or shallows.

[15] Not convenient for cultivation.

[16] By living in the spruce forest. The "sweet fragrance" of the forests in America are often mentioned in the early Swedish records.

[17] *På denna orth löpe och tree store kijlar eller åer inn i landet, å sydorne medh kruppebuskar och dalar.*

[18] *Tekoke*, the land above Little Timber Creek, up to and including the banks of Newton Creek, or possibly it is the name of Newton Creek, main Branch. This would place Fort Nassau above Timber Creek at Gloucester. But De Vries says that he "sailed before the little fort named Fort Nassau", and then "we weighed anchor, and came before Timber Kill." This seems to indicate that Timber Kill was above the Fort. See Myers, *Narratives*, 18–19.

[18a] Lindeström begins to write about the condition of the country from *Hackomenehackien* to *Tekoke*, but through his desire to insert a statement about Fort Nassau, he forgets his object and the beginning of his sentence.

Indians.[19] Here the land is unfavorable.[20] Much spruce forest grows there. Yet the forest there in the country does not grow so thick, but very tall and thick trees, standing far apart from one another, as if they were planted. Here the river again begins to get a good depth. Further on from Tekoke to Quinkoringh[21] there is a large point, yet beautiful flat and level land, but entirely inconvenient for reaching the shore with vessels, on account of the shallow water, which is caused by an island, which lies in about the middle of the river entirely covered with reeds.

Further up the river from Quinkoringh to Rankokes Kill[22] is a stony and mountain-like country, yet not to be understood as such mountains as exist in Sweden, but earth or sand mountains, hills or mounds. But where there are some rocks under these hills, as are found in some but not in many places, it is not unlikely that they are mostly inclined by nature to [contain] minerals,[23] as at Meckansio, "a high mountain in the Lenappian or savage [dialect]," situated at Meckansio Sippo.[24] There is found a rock under and along the water, where there is good silver ore. And directly facing that mountain along the edge of the river, the

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[19] Not strictly correct, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 445, 447.

[20] For agricultural purposes.

[21] *Quinkoringh* (on the map *Quincorening*), Cooper Creek, above Camden, N. J.

[22] *Rankokes Kill* (on the map *Roncoques Kyl*), Rancocas Creek, dividing Cinnaminson and Beverly Townships.

[23] *Inclinerade of naturen till metaller.*

[24] *Meckansio Sippo* (on the map *Mechansio Sippus*), perhaps the small creek just above Bordentown, N. J.

bank lies [covered] all over with pyrites.[25] When those that are right round, are broken open, grains of pure silver, like large and small peas, some larger, some smaller, are found within them, of which I have broken many hundreds.[26]

As we have come to this account, I do not wish to withhold, what passed between the late Honorable Governor Johan Printz and one of our Rennapi (own river) Indians who came [on a visit] to Governor Printz, and whilst he was there he got to see [that] the late Governor's wife had a gold ring on her finger. The savage asked her: "Why do you go and drag around such worthless trash[27] on your fingers?" Which Governor Printz heard and therefore he asked the savage: "If you can procure such trash for me, I will give you all sorts of other good [things] in return, which may be of use to you." "Yes," answered the savage, "I know of a mountain full of such trash." The Governor said: "See here what I will give you, if you will bring me a piece of it, as a proof." Then he took and showed him one fathom of red and one fathom of blue cloth, together with lead, powder, mirrors, awl-points and needles, and said: "But I will send two of my men with you." This the savage did not want [to agree to]. "But I will first go and get you the proof," he said. "If it then satisfies you, then it will be time enough to send [the men] with me." With this he promised [to furnish the] proof and received the presents.

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[25] *Ligger stranden all öfwer medh fijrsteenar. Fijsteen,* firestone, pyrite.

[26] *Som jagh många 100 haar söndherslagit.*

[27] *Sådant skarn,* scarn, filth, dirt.

14. Mug in chased silver, owned by Gov. Johan Printz, with his coat of arms on the lid. When De Vries visited Gov. Printz at Tinicum Island, in 1643, this very mug probably came into use. "He (Gov. Printz) then had a silver mug brought, with which he treated the skipper with hop beer." De Vries, *Korte Historiael*, Oct. 13, 1643. (Myers, *Narratives*, 28.)

[Photograph kindly furnished me by C. A. Bogeman, of Stockholm.]

A few days thereafter the savage came again with a piece as large as a couple of fists, which the said governor tested and which was found to be very good gold. [He] really obtained a considerable quantity from it, which he made into gold rings and bracelets. [He] promised the savage many more presents if he would show our men, whom the Governor would send with him, where the mountain is situated. This the savage promised, but asked for a few days' delay, saying he had no time for it on this occasion, but would come again some days later, at a time agreed upon. Then the governor again gave him something. When now the said savage returned to the other savages and began to boast before the other savages about the presents he had received, the others insisted upon knowing why [he had received them]. Hence he finally informed them of it. With this the savages killed this savage on the spot in the presence of their own sachem or chief, so that this place should not become known to us, thinking that it would tend to their ruin. Thus the road to this mountain remains hidden from us to the present day.[28]

I will now return to my narrative, about the said tract between Quinkoringh and Rankokes Kill, which was somewhat discussed above; [and it is to be stated that] this place contains several creeks, remarkably rich in all kinds of fish. There it is also safe to navigate the river with large vessels, the deepest water running along the west bank. Yet unfortunately at one place there are

[28] Stories about the existence of gold mines were often circulated among the early settlers in America.

some rocks under the water, lying southward and close to Aquikanaska Island[29] in the middle of the channel.

Further on from Rankokes Kill and to Werantapecka[30] the land is good and fruitful, the soil light in color and somewhat sandy, entirely overgrown with spruce forest, unsuitable for black and blue maize (Indian wheat), but well suitable for the cultivation of tobacco, rye, oats, maize of yellow, red, white and pink color, Turkish beans, peas and other grain of light color. At the river bank [it is] inconvenient to get to land with vessels, on account of the shallow water and stony bottom. At the Island of Tinnekonck[31] the river is safely navigable with large vessels, though [the channel is] not wide, but in some places here and there dangerous for inexperienced helmsmen.

From Werantapecka to Trackonick,[32] within which passage lie the islands of Tinnekonck and Pessenewinning.[33] Here the land begins to look hilly and mountainlike, yet the soil [is] sandy, mixed with mould, and in productiveness similar to that just going before.[34] Here the river becomes shallower, but not sloping shallow at the bank of the river, not overrun with brushwood, but the ground [is] stony, [and] narrower and

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[29] *Acquikenaska Island*, Petty Island, above the mouth of Cooper Creek.

[30] *Wirantapecka*, Assiscunk Creek, running through Burlington, N. J.

[31] *Tinnekonck*, Burlington Island, opposite Burlington, N. J.

[32] *Trackonick*, perhaps Blacks Creek, or the district at present Bordentown, N. J.

[33] *Pessenewinning*, not given on the map. Perhaps what is now called Mint Island at mouth of Scott's (Welcome) Creek.

[34] That is, the district described above.

shorter bays also begin to show themselves here in the river.

Further on from Trackonick, along the east side upwards to the river fall Asinpinck and above, there is along the river a beautiful and good land, suitable for black and blue maize, Swedish barley and other such like. [It] is a level and good land for pasture, where the savages have lived for a long time, and are still dwelling. We cannot pass up to this place with larger vessels than those that draw 5 or 6 feet. There are few or no valleys. But [it is] not convenient to get to shore on account of the many banks[35] and shallow water. [It] is also difficult to get from here, further up beyond the riverfall Asinpinck, with larger vessels than canoes.

Concerning the situation and condition of the east side of the river, here up at the riverfall and above, [it can be said] that it is mostly inhabited by the Mantesser,[36] which nation is the rightful owner of the east side of the river, bondmen and servants in this river,[37] and the river was formerly mostly occupied by these savages, yet this nation is now much died off and diminished through war and also through diseases.

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[35] *För många bancker och grunder skuldh.*

[36] *Mantesser.* The ending -er is the Swedish plural, see Chapt. VIII, note 5d. The *Manta* (*Mantas, Mantacsy, Mantessos*, etc.), were supposed by Brinton to be the same as the Munsee (Manta being a corruption of Monthee). They are supposed to have been located about Salem Creek, N. J., and Brinton says they extended along the River as far as Burlington. According to Lindeström, however, they inhabited the country as far as "the riverfall" (Falls of the Delaware). As he says "mostly" or "for the most part," he seems to imply that other Indian tribes also had their villages in this territory.

[37] The Delaware.

Concerning the ground up here at the riverfall on the east side [it can be stated] that it is uneven and stony, wherefore, although the land here along the river edge is generally rich and occupied by a large number of plantations, yet[38] it is not particularly suitable for barley, but overgrown with an unspeakable multitude of grape-vines, [bearing] white, red, brown and blue [grapes]. If the inhabitants of the country were supplied with some one who had a knowledge of their pressing, it would be a country rich in wine.[39]

This country extends inland of which we do not [know] the limit, but it is supposed to be a continent. Neither have the Swedes yet had any trade or intercourse with savages, or any other savage nation who lived further in the [interior of the] country than the Black and White Minquesser,[40] who also do not know any limit to the country, but as far as they have been inland [they have found that] the country is occupied by savage nations alongside of nations of various kinds.[41]

And the interior of the country, as well as everywhere else along this river, is found to be very rich in all kinds of wild animals and birds, and in the river as well as in the kills and streams emptying into it, there is an abundance of fish of various kinds as we shall see later *silo loco*.[42] These

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[38] *Så är det icke sijnnerligit bärande till korn.*

[39] *Ett rijkt landt meäh wijn.*

[40] *Black and white Minquesser.* See Johnson, *Swedish Settlement*, I, 188 ff., Johnson, *The Indians and Their Culture*, Proceedings of the 19th Int. Cong. of Americanists (Washington, 1917), 277 ff.

[41] The Spanish explorations of the interior and the east coast of the continent were not generally known.

[42] See below, Chapt. VIII.

15. Agriculture of the Indians. See p. 167.

16. Method of carrying provisions, etc. This system of carrying heavy burdens in a basket on the back, supported by a strap over the forehead, is also used in certain districts of Cental West Africa. From De Bry, *Voyages*.

animals and fish our river savages procure by hunting and fishing, and later dispose of them to the Swedes and to the savages living on the west side [of the river], which the Mantesser live on, when their grain gives out. In regard to the hunting and fishing of the savages I shall give a more particular account in its proper place and chapter.[43] And this must now suffice in brief, concerning the situation and nature of the east side of the river, and we shall now proceed to the western bank, land or side.

THE WEST BANK.

Along the west side of this river to the island Minachkonck,[44] it is to be related, that all the way upward and above the river fall on this western side and again down to Sipaessinghs'[45] Land, [it] is everywhere a low country, favorable for maize and by nature especially suited for it, which for many years has been occupied and cultivated. But it now begins to be somewhat poor. However, it requires nothing else than that it gets settled by good colonists, who have power to work it and [possess] a knowledge of agriculture. To a distance of about half a mile from the river bank there are many good maize fields, which are particularly well suited for the cultivation of the grain of the Christians. From the Island Menaenkock on this western side to the river fall Asinpinck it is difficult to get with larger vessels than canoes.

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[43] See below, Chapts. XVII, XVIII.

[44] *Minackonck, Menahanonck Island,* present Biles' Island.

[45] *Sipaessingh,* refers to parts of Falls Township, Bucks County, Pa., bordering on the Delaware.

Further from Sipaessingh to a river or creek by the name of Nejeck[46] or Nekakve the soil is just as fertile as the above described, and extends in a curve like the figure of an elbow, also back of said kill, containing beautiful places for cattle pasture. But the point at the mouth of Nejeck Kill, all the way up and somewhat above the falls of this creek, is also a good land, suitable for the settlement of colonists, but beyond these valleys for about a mile[47] or more is a poor and stony land. This mentioned Nejack point has not been settled and cultivated more than 2 or 3 years, wherefore we cannot know or say much as to its fitness or unfitness [for agriculture]. There are also found in this part some creeks extending out of the river into the country, in which creeks there are beautiful and good falls and suitable places to build all kinds of splendid mills upon.

Still further from Nejakve Creek to a kill or creek Poaetquissingh,[48] the land is not occupied

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[46] *Nejeck, Nekakve* or *Nejakue (Neyakwe)* Creek, the western arm of Mill Creek at Bristol, Bucks County, Pa.

[47] German mile.

[48] *Poaetquessingh Creek.* This philologically appears to be the same as Poquessing Creek, but it might seem strange that Lindeström should mention this creek among the "three . . . principal kills or rivers," the other two being *Pemickpack* (Pennypack) Creek, and *Menejackse* (Schuylkill), rather than *Kikimens* (Neshaminy) Creek. On Lindeström's map *Poaetquessingh* is written right above *Kikimenskijl,* which might indicate that *Poaetquessingh* and *Kikimenskijl* are the same in Lindeström's mind. On the map in the Royal Library, published below, Poaetquessing is, however, identified with *Drakekijlen,* and the latter is made to appear much larger on the map in the *Geographia* than either Neshaminy or Pennypack Creek; but this is not strange, for even in maps as late as the seventies of the 19th Century Poquessing is made as large as Neshaminy, or larger. (On the map in the Royal Library Poaetquessing Creek is made smaller than Pennypack Creek, but larger than the Neshaminy.

by the dwellings of either the Swedes or the savages, notwithstanding the land appears to be quite fertile and level all along the river, except at some places, [where] there are a few reed flats unfit for plantations but suitable for pasture. The river shore or strand right in front of this place is found to be entirely stony.

From Poaetquessingh to Pemickpacka[49] Kill or Wickquakonick,[50] is throughout a good land for maize, about which more will be said later. Concerning the bank of the river in this district [it can be said] that it is in some places [covered] with valleys and brushwood, especially in front of Pemickpacka and between Pessennewanningh[51] and Kackamensij,[52] where the land is divided by valleys and brushwood,[53] but afterwards the river runs towards the main land[54] as far as Quickquakonick,[54a] where a very great multitude of brushwood begins. This brushwood does not end until [we reach] Passajonck,[55] and that brushwood is

[49] *Pemickpacka* (on map, *Penickpacka*) *Kill*, Pennypack Creek.

[50] *Wickquakonick* seems to be another name for *Pennypack Creek*. Perhaps it was the name of a village on the Creek. See note 60, below. It is, however, possible that Lindeström means: "to Pemickpacka Kill or [even as far as to] Wickquakonick, is throughout a good land," that is to Wickquacoingh on the map, see note 54a, below.

[51] *Pessennewanningh*, the district from the mouth of Frankford Creek southward.

[52] *Kackamensij*, district three or four miles below Frankford Creek, along the Delaware including part of modern Philadelphia.

[53] *Der som landet medh daalar och kruppellbuskar blijfwer separerat.*

[54] *Löper Rivieret åt fasta landet.*

[54a] *Quickquakonick* and *Wickquakonick* are possibly the same as Wickquacoingh on Lindeström's map, situated within present Philadelphia (later called *Wicaco*, where the Old Swedes Church was built in 1700, still standing). Cf. notes 50 and 60.

[55] *Passajonck* (on map *Passajungh*), *Passayunk*, on the east bank of the lower Schuylkill River, in present Philadelphia. Name is preserved in Passyunk Ave., etc.

within supplied with all kinds of fine fruit bearing trees. This tract of bushes also contains some streams of fresh water, originating from natural causes, further in the country, and splendid spring veins under the water,[56] which can be dug up and made to flow out. In these woods there is also an abundance of various kinds of rare, wild animals,[57] which, however, now begin to become somewhat diminished, through the continual visits of the savages with devastation by hunting and shooting.

From Wickquakonick all the way to Nittabakonck,[58] which is situated at the falls of the River Menejackse,[59] the land is very fine, but not so high as that which can be seen at Nittabakonck. This is occupied in greatest force by the most intelligent savages of several nations of savages, who own this River and dwell here. There they have their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore also this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power. And six different places are settled, under six sachems or chiefs, each one commanding his tribe or people under him, and each [tribe] with its own peculiar language, [there] being several hundred men strong, under each chief, counting women and children, some being stronger, some weaker. As for instance Poaetquessingh, Pemickpacka, Wickquaquenscke,[60] Wickquakonick, which are situated

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[56] *Skiöne springhådror undher wattnet.*

[57] *Allehande slagz rare wildwärk.*

[58] *Nittabakonck,* near the falls of the Schuylkill.

[59] *Menejackse Kill,* Schuylkill, also called *Ganshowonne, Ganshowehanne, Manajunk.* and other names.

[60] *Wickquaquenscke, Wickquakonick,* etc., were apparently Indian villages along the Delaware. See notes 50 and 54a above.

along the river,[61] but Passajung and Nittabakonck are situated up at the Menejackse River; and these chiefs have their names after the name of the countries, which they rightfully own.[62] In this district and region are also included three of the principal kills or rivers, namely: Poaetquessingh, Pemickpacka and Menejackse Kill. At Poaetquessingh it is by nature convenient to build and erect water mills. The first fall cannot be farther than a musket shot from the river itself,[63] so that it is possible to pass [up to the falls] with vessels drawing 4 or 5 feet of water and tie the vessel to the mill with a rope. And along this river the land is fine for raising maize, as well as for cattle pasture.

The Pemickpacka River is not quite so favorable for the building of mills; yet it can be done, but at a greater cost, neither is it convenient to go up in vessels to the mill, as in the said [river] Poaetquessing. But there is no scarcity of water in either kill, even though it be in the dryest summer season. The land is as good as that at Poaetquessingh.

But that River or Kill Menejackse, although it is a very large and deep Kill, and extends far up into the country, I have not found it so favorable for this.[64] Yet there are streams emptying into it, that may have falls higher up in the country, which have not been so closely examined by me, as I had no time for it, and I was therefore obliged to forego any certainty about them.

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[61] Delaware.
[62] See notes 55 and 58, above.
[63] *Ett Mousquetskått ifrån sielfwa rivieret* (the Delaware).
[64] For the erection of mills.

The country from Menejackse River to Christina River is a level, very splendid and fertile land, good and suitable for whatever we may desire to plant, as everything grows there abundantly. It is also convenient to land there with vessels. On the Island of Tennakonck, right in front of this region, the late Governor Printz had a church built, also a hall for himself and his family, which is called *Printzhoff*—very splendidly and well-built, with a pleasure garden, summer house and other such [things]. In this part all the foremost freemen also have their dwellings and plantations.[65]

On the Christina River, Fort Christina was built and fortified. And, since our arrival in New Sweden, a little town was laid out right in front of Fort Christina by Peter Lindhestrŏm, and since built; but during the siege by the Hollander[s][66] it was totally ruined.

This Christina River is a deep river, rich in fish; [it] extends far up into the country [and] can be navigated with sloops and other large vessels a considerable distance. On both sides of this river, as well as up to Menejackse Kill,[67] the soil is by nature suitable for all kinds of agriculture and the cultivation of all kinds of rare fruit-bearing trees. Yes [it is] such a fertile country that the pen is too weak to describe, praise and extol it [sufficiently]; yes indeed, on account of its fer-

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[65] *Tennakonck, Tinicum*, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 305–6, 326, 366, etc.

[66] See *ibid.*, I, 192 ff.; II, 497 ff., 603 ff.

[67] That is the land from Christina Kill to the Schuylkill along the Delaware, including Upland, etc.

Fort in Nova Suecia, som-
dyl af ingenieuren Pehr Lind-
hestrom Anno 654 och 655 ar-
munierat och Fortificerat 5.
Scala Rhynlandica pa 12 foliga Roeder 5.
12. 24. 36. 48 60 72 84 96 108 120

"Fort Trinity in New Sweden, as it was mounted and fortified, 1654 and 1655, by Mr. Pehr Lindeström." From the original sketch in the *Geographia*.

tility it may well be called a land flowing with milk and honey.

From Christina River to the Sandhock the soil is equally rich and fertile to the above described, an even and level land, here and there settled by Finns. It is easy to come to shore there with vessels. At the Sandhock[68] 21 Holland Colonists have erected their dwellings on Her Royal Majesty's land, [marked with] the Arms of Sweden. At the Sandhock the Hollanders have also fortified and built a fortress with 4 bastions, which the Hollanders called Fort Cassimer. However, when we arrived in New Sweden, it had fallen into almost total decay. But after it had been captured by us at our arrival in the country on Trinity Sunday, 1654,[69] this fortress was called Fort Trinity by the Swedes; and afterwards the said fortress was built up anew, practically from the foundation, much stronger fortified and improved with bastions by the above-mentioned Mr. Per Lindheström.

From the Sandhock downwards to Cape Henlopen, on the west bank, the soil is very good and fertile, but unoccupied and uncultivated by either the Swedes or the savage nations. And this will now have to suffice, as a brief description of the situation and condition of [the country and the] river of New Sweden, as far as it came to my knowledge, through my travels and experience, which may aid the gentle reader to better appreciate and understand the maps and drawings.

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[68] *Sandhock, Sandhoek, Sandhook, Sandhuk,* etc., Dutch, sandpoint. Fort Casimir was built there by the Dutch, now New Castle, Delaware.

[69] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* I, 439 ff; II, 489, 582 ff.

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning the Weather in all 4 Seasons of the Year, Autumn and Spring, Winter and Summer, With Snow, Rain, Lightning and Thunder; How They Appear in New Sweden.

In New Sweden the Winter begins late in November, and sometimes in the middle of December, and ends in the middle of January, so that the length of the winter in that place cannot be over 7, 8 or 9 weeks, at most; indeed as severe there, while it lasts, as the most severe [winter] here in Old Sweden.

They know nothing of autumn and spring there,[1] for when winter sets in, it sets in mighty suddenly, so that if the ocean waves did not so forcibly agitate the water in the river, it would be covered with the thickest ice in about 3 or 4 nights. And when it thaws up,[2] it breaks loose in all the kills and creeks suddenly, and in an astonishing manner, and floats away with the ebb towards the sea, like large mountains, with such an inexpressible cracking, rumble and din, like a continuous discharge of a great number of large guns. Then it immediately becomes warm summer, with such a heat that the colonists who plant[3] are not able to do anything in the middle of the day, during the summer, and cannot wear any other clothes but

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[1] This is partly true, when compared to the rather slow, gradual transition from one season to another in Sweden.

[2] *När han slåår (slår) upp*, when it breaks up, said about lakes and water frozen over.

[3] Who do farmwork.

linen clothes, made quite wide,[4] on account of the oppressive heat. Rain does not often fall there, but when it does, it is generally in connection with heavy thunder, that we hear and see the heavens with great horror, for when it thunders[5] the whole heaven appears to be on fire, that nothing can be seen but flames of fire and smoke. And then the savages are so frightened that they hide themselves and exclaim: "Hear, how Manitho reigns with his large guns" (the devil,[6] they say, *Måkirick pickon*);[7] for they believe and well know that the evil one exists, who can send them that which is evil, but they will not believe or understand that there is an almighty and good God who can do them every good. But the good which befalls them, they attribute to their *Pååhra*[8] or idol and to their own acquirements, or else they say that it falls to their lot by accident. This will be further treated in a following chapter concerning the religion of the western savages.[9]

When the thunderstorm calms down and is over, the savages rejoice and appear very happy, because no harm has befallen them.

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[4] Not tight fitting.

[5] *När åskian gåår*, when thunder goes.

[6] *Fahnen, säija the.*

[7] This interesting remark shows that the religious conceptions of the Indians were often changed by the arrival of the Europeans. When the Indians heard and saw the discharge of the cannon, they connected this with lightning and imagined that *Manitho* used similar means to produce "his rumblings."

[8] See below, p. 207, note 1.

[9] See below, Chapt. XV.

CHAPTER VII.

Concerning the Agriculture and the Plantations; Also the Kind of Grain, Trees, Fruit, Herbs and Roots Which Principally Grow There Now.

Inasmuch as this remotest part of America, including Virginia, New Sweden, New Holland and New England, is[1] situated northerly from the Indian Islands, which are otherwise called *Novis Orbis,* or the New World, consequently some of the rare fruit trees which are very hot by nature[2] and require a stronger heat, do not ripen perfectly in this remotest part of America, on account of the greater increasing coldness in that place. But the following valuable trees and fruits, which give off a sweet, splendid, agreeable and wholesome, beautiful odor and fruit,[3] are those which exist in great abundance in the wild forest in America, namely: oak of white, red, yellow and brown color, and the holly-oak,[4] on which the leaves remain over the winter. [These trees are] exceedingly large in height and thickness, from which planks and excellent material can be sawed and exported, suitable for fine cabinet work. [There are also other trees such as] walnut trees, chestnut trees, fish trees[5] which smell like raw fish and do not burn well and can not be split, peach

[1] Lindeström uses the plural, *liggia (ligga).*
[2] Which on account of their nature require much heat.
[3] *skiön lucht och frucht.*
[4] *Wintereek (vinter ek),* winter oak.
[5] *fiskieträä,* fish tree; apparently the gum-tree, the *tachkwahoakaninninshi* of the Lenapés.

trees on which grow skinless apples, as large as other apples, yellow and rose colored, covered only with a thin downy skin. Inside is a large kernel, as large as a prune kernel but rougher. [These] dissolve in one's mouth like plums, but are much more delicious and palatable.[6] [There are also] mulberry trees, plum trees, sassafras trees, crab-apples,[7] bullace trees, linden [trees], birches, spruces, juniper, alder [which] are endowed with a much more precious, delightful and pleasant odor than in Sweden or other places.[8]

Grape-vines [exist there] in great abundance, which bear large white, red, brown and blue grapes. On Christina Creek up at White Clay,[9] we found a grape-vine which was two ells thick,—such a thickness in a grape-vine has never been seen or heard of [before].[10] Wild hemp and wild hops [are also plentiful].[11]

Calabash vines which are planted and which run along the ground like pumpkin [vines], upon which grow a kind of a round [thing] like the figure of a pear, as large as the largest pumpkin, yes, some as small as tobacco houses or boxes.[12] They are yellow inside and out, shine and are smooth as glass, thin as glass, hard and tough as horn, so that even if they fall on the floor, they will not break. [They] are completely full of seeds inside, as large as and resemble pumpkin

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[6] *men mycket skiönare och naturellare.*
[7] *Wilda äpler*, wild apples, crab apples.
[8] See above, Chapt. V, note 16.
[9] *Hwijte leeret*, see map.
[10] *twå alner tiock.*
[11] Cf. above, Chapt. V.
[12] *tobaks hws eller dosor.*

seeds. When these seeds have been dug out, we have a fine vessel of it, if we want to leave it in the shape, which it then has. Or [in case] we desire to saw it apart for bowls, flasks or cups,[13] we are at liberty to do that. Then they are worthy of being mounted with gold and silver, on account of their excellence and beauty. Some of the calabashes may be so large that 1½ or 2 gallons will go into them.[14]

Maize or Indian corn grows there, with white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears. On the corn plantations the corn is planted in square hills[15] [so far apart] that one can conveniently walk between the hills, similar to the hop hills here in Sweden. And in each hill 6 or 7 grains are set; [the stalk] grows so high that it reaches an ell above a man's head, and on each stalk [are] 6 or 7 ears, with long narrow and pointed leaves like the sword-shaped rushes[16] here in Sweden. But the color [is] the same color as that of the ear; if the ear is white, red or blue, yellow, flesh-colored, etc., such color the leaves take on, which lends splendor to the plantation.

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[13] *credentzer, poteller eller skålar.* Perhaps goblets, flasks or bowls would be better. *Poteller* is perhaps för *buteljer*, bottles, flasks.

[14] *3 eller 4 kannor*, one and a half or two gallons in English measure. It has been said that Lindeström exaggerates the size of the calabashes; but I saw several calabashes in Central West Africa that held between eight and ten gallons.

[15] Corn was a new article of food to the Swedes and many of the early writers described its planting and use. Square and round hills had a wide distribution and were found in South America also. Old deserted cornfields, where the hills remained, have given rise to the most absurd conjectures about their origin. See Count von Rosen, *Träskfolket*, 378, and note 1.

[16] *Swerdzwassen.*

The ears become 1½ quarter,[17] but mostly ½ ell long, some as thick as the thickest arm, some narrower, and according to their thickness, with 10, 12, 13 yes, even 14 ears of grain around [the cob], way up to the top, which is a yield of about 1000 fold of God's blessing. When these ears are just ripe and we heat them a little on hot embers, then they are beyond measure good and palatable to eat.[18]

Bread is baked from [the flour of] the white and yellow corn, but beer is brewed from the red, flesh-colored, blue, brown, black and spotted corn, which becomes very strong, however not clear, but thick. Rye, barley, peas, Turkish beans and oats also grow there. But rye and barley may have the nature and it sometimes happens, that when rye is sowed barley is produced and in sowing barley rye may be the result.[19] Cayenne pepper[20] grows in broad brown pods about 1 quarter long and about 2 or 3 fingers broad. But [it is] so very sharp and pungent, that if a little piece is broken off, beaten fine and thrown into the food, it[21] acquires a much stronger taste, than if as much other pepper had been added. Pumpkins, cucumbers and wild turnips [are likewise found there]. The latter taste like artichokes.[22]

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[17] About 9 inches.

[18] Corn roasted in this manner was a common article of food among the Indians, from whom the settlers adopted the custom. Roasted corn is likewise a common food among the natives of Africa, introduced from South America by the early explorers and slave-traders.

[19] A superstition Lindeström had heard from the settlers.

[20] *Pungpeppar*, pod-pepper.

[21] The food.

[22] See above, Chapt. V, note 9.

Nicotian or Tobacco. The tobacco which grows here in the remotest parts of America is called Virginia tobacco and is considered the principal and most excellent tobacco. It is planted in the following manner: 1. Its seed is sown in a bed, like cabbage seed. 2. When the plants are so large that they should be transplanted, then the tobacco plantation is prepared with hills, like hop-hills, so far between each hill that one can walk between the tobacco comfortably. Then one plant is set in each hill and it grows so high that it stands under a man's arms.[23] And it should be a salt-peter soil in which the tobacco is sown and planted, and the soil, which is in that place, is found to be full of salt-peter.[24]

Now there are three kinds of tobacco, the one kind better than the other. But in order to be able to differentiate the good and wholesome from the other, I will instruct the gracious reader [to do it] in the following manner,[25] namely: 1. The plant on which the leaves grow on the stalk at an acute and sharp angle, I will say, about thirty degrees or less,[26] these leaves are dark and thick; that is the poorest tobacco. 2. The plant on which the leaves grow on the stalk at a wider angle, of about 60 degrees, whose leaves have a light and clear chestnut brown color, this is the tobacco of medium quality. 3. The plant on which the leaves grow

[23] Reaches up to the shoulder of a man.

[24] *finnes full medh saltpetter.* Lindeström's reading above is *Nigotian eller tobak.*

[25] Construction in Lindeström is bad. In order that the reader may be able to differentiate, etc.

[26] My copy has: *som Excemplj gråå.* I am unable to interpret this, unless it means: which for example grow (*gro*) at an acute angle. Perhaps it should read: *som exemplj ähro.*

at a rectangle or obtuse angle from the stalk, at 90 or more degrees, its leaves are light brown, thin, smooth and clear; this is the most wholesome, most excellent and most valuable tobacco.

Every month or every 3 weeks, as the colonists or freemen find it most necessary, he[27] goes around his tobacco plantation and breaks off the top of every plant, excepting those he intends to keep for seed plants. Thereby its[28] strength goes down into the leaves; otherwise the tobacco plant would have no more strength than any other dry grass or hay. But when the tobacco becomes ripe so that it should be harvested, the stalks are cut off like cabbage, and large buildings are erected where it is to be dried. The plants are hung up on props on the roof and around the walls. When the tobacco is found to be sufficiently dry to be packed into large casks, then the tobacco planter selects from the best quality as much as may be necessary for his house,[29] but the remaining, both bad and good, he packs up together and exports.

Now the leaves, which grow nearest the ground on all the above-mentioned three kinds of tobacco, are the most unhealthy which cause the head, brain, breast and stomach as much pain as the good and wholesome tobacco is able to ease and mitigate. Yet they make no distinction in this matter, but through its mixture it is spun together and prepared and sold by the Tobacco Companies indiscriminately in other countries as well as here in Sweden, that there is no difference between the

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[27] Lindeström changes the number to the singular.
[28] The tobacco.
[29] His own use.

good and the bad. It would, however, seem more reasonable that the good should be separated from the bad, so that the rich [person] who has sufficient money could buy the best [quality], and the poor [person] who has less means, the inferior [kind], because the use of tobacco has become so general, that if a poor wretch did not have a piece of bread for the nourishment of himself or his wife and children, or if he were so poor that he walked around with a begger's staff, or [as poor as] an old woman in an almshouse, as the saying is, he could not live, if he could not obtain tobacco, even if it were nothing but the stalks, which nevertheless tends to their greatest injury and harm.[30]

Watermelons, they also grow on vines like pumpkins. [It] is an exceedingly fine and palatable fruit. Some of them grow so large that over a gallon and a half[31] of juice can be obtained from one watermelon.[32] When now this melon is cut open, it immediately assumes a flesh color inside, that grows inside around the shell of the watermelon 2 or 3 fingers thick, this has an exceedingly delicious and beautiful taste and immediately melts in the mouth. These watermelons are used to eat and drink during the hot summer, as they refresh and cool off a person strongly. These trees, herbs and roots, which grow in the West Indian Islands, the Canary and Caribbean Islands, etc., such as orange trees and lemon trees, sugarcane, trees resembling cypress and cedar trees,

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[30] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 158.
[31] *öfwer tree kannor must.*
[32] *een waterlemon.*

Guajacum,[33] ginger, pepper, potatoes, bananas,[34] etc; these and such other innumerable [varieties of] trees and fruits are also perhaps able to grow in the most distant parts of America, in case they were imported from other parts and planted, unmindful of what it would cost,[35] in the same manner as it was done and happened in the beginning on the West Indian Islands.[36] And although all varieties which grow in the Indian Islands can not ripen in the farthest parts of America as fully as it is necessary, yet it is to be presumed that the majority [will do so], which are not of such a nature as to require too strong a heat.[37]

[33] See above, Chapt. II, note 24.

[34] *plantanes* (Lindeström), the Spanish plantano; the English plantain is from *O.F.*, described as "a banana-like fruit."

[35] The meaning seems to be: if we did not consider the cost, which would be great.

[36] See above, Chapt. III.

[37] *så att de kräfwia alt för starck wärme.*

CHAPTER VIII.

What Kind of Animals, Birds and Fishes are Found and Exist in New Sweden, and the [West] Indian Islands.

Large lions but smooth,[1] bears, coal-black, large and grim,[2] dragons,[3] wild hogs,[4] wolves, lynxes, polecats,[5] wild cats, elks, fishers,[5a] raccoons,[5b] minks, *fijrfooter*[5c] [?], beavers, otters, horses, oxen, cows, red deer, hinds in abundance, foxes,

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[1] *Stoore leijon, dock släte*, that is, without mane. Perhaps the cougar (about eight feet or more in length, tail three feet or more, color, a yellowish brown), now extinct in the east. The Indians called it *Manunckees mochijrick Singwaes*, "the evil large cat or lion." Campanius, *Cate.*, 145.

[2] *grymme*, really cruel, but here fierce.

[3] *Draakar*, dragons and mythical animals are often mentioned in early descriptions. See De Bry, *Voyages*, and others.

[4] *Wildswijn.*

[5] *Hildringar* (same as *hiller* and *iller*), which in Swedish is the European polecat or fitchew. Dr. Berg writes me that "*hildring* är liktydigt med iller, ett djur besläktat med vesslorna" (an animal related to the weasels).

[5a] *Fiskiare*, Fisher *(mustela pennanti Erxleben)*, also called the Fisher marten. (Length about three feet; larger and heavier than the weasels and minks.) The Indian name for the skin was *Skajaano*. "Look like sable and are valuable," Campanius, *Cate.*, 158.

[5b] The word *espaner* used by Lindeström was adopted by the Dutch from the Indians and was generally employed by the Swedes (Lindeström adding the Swedish plural *-er*). It was an Algonkian term of wide distribution, and variously spelled, *espan, hespan, asspann*, etc. The local Lenapé name was *nahanum*. Campanius, *Cate.*

[5c] "*fyrfotar*, enligt Sahlstedts Svensk ordbok (Stockholm, 1773), betyder ödlor" (lizards), and Dalin gives the same definition, *Ordbok*, I, 510. Lindeström says in the index to his *Geographia*: "*Fyrfooter*, small grey, are found in [New Sweden]." As they are given among the fur-bearing animals, it seems probable that the *fyrfooter* (four-footed) were small, grey, fur-bearing quadrupeds, rather than lizards. The word was probably a translation of an Indian term that meant four-footed.

grey spangled and black, land-tortoises, musk-cats,[6] brown, large and splendid for lining, hares, goats [and] squirrels. [There are also] rattle-snakes, a kind of large, horrible and abominable snakes; they have jaws like a dog; they [can] cut and bite off a person's leg, as if it had been cut with an ax.[7] [They are] as thick as a person's thickest leg. On its tail it has horny joints which rattle like the children's rattles do. When it notices any person coming or being at hand, it lays itself in a ring, and puts up its tail to rattle with, which may indeed be heard a distance of about 100 ells from the snake, then a person can be on his guard. If that were not the case, it might cause an inexpressible injury. It may be about three ells in length and as many horn-joints as it has on its tail, so many years it is old. Its color is variegated black and yellow and its skin is very valuable for pregnant women,[8] when they tie it around their bodies they have an immediate and easy delivery.[9]

In the Indian Islands are found camels, asses, *hagedias*[10] and many singular and wonderful animals which it would be too lengthy to enumerate.[11]

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[6] *Dessmanskattor*, "musk-cats," probably the musk-rat or desman, rather than the civet.

[7] Based on a story Lindeström had heard from one of the settlers.

[8] The Swedes, adopting the superstition from the Indians, believed in the magic power of the rattlesnake skin. The early settlers in certain sections of Minnesota likewise used snake skins to cure various ailments and I have been told by Dr. V. O. Freeburg, of New York, that the early settlers in Kansas "carried snake rattles inside their hats in order to cure headaches."

[9] See below, Chapt. X, note 5.

[10] See above, Chapt. I.

[11] *Som faller alt for wijdhlyfftigt att uprecitera.*

Birds which exist in New Sweden are these: eagles, vultures, hawks, cuckoos, herons, quails, swans, wild geese, wild turkeys, pigeons, partridges, wood-grouse, black-grouse, hazel-grouse, nightingales,[12] bullfinches,[13] goldfinches,[14] siskins,[15] Spanish flies and many kinds which are unknown to me.[16] But in the Indian Islands, [are found] canary birds, golden-crested wrens, parrots, storks, peacocks and a number of other indescribable kinds.[17]

Fishes which are found in New Sweden are these: Starfish, [?][18] sturgeons, shad,[19] [which] is a kind of large fish like the salmon, runs against the stream like the salmon, is white with black stripes right across the fish; [it is] a very fine flavored and excellent tasting fish; pikes, hornpikes, black striped perches with a gold glittering color on the scales like that of the carp,[20] haddocks,[21] shrimps, lobsters, sea-turtles, crabs, seaspiders, can be eaten, [are] as large as turtles, have houses over themselves like turtles, but a yellow horn,[22] [they] have many feet like crab-

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[12] *Nächtergaler.* Translation in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has "whipporwille."

[13] *Dommare.*

[14] *Steeglijhsor (steglitsor).*

[15] *Siskor.*

[16] *Spanska flugor och många slagh som migh obekante äro.*

[17] *Oreciterlige slagh,* unrecitable kinds.

[18] *Siöswalor,* really sea-swallows.

[19] *Dwaltar. "Mamaare, Dwalt,* a kind of fish, looks nearly like salmon, but not as large, and [is] reddish inside, but [it] has white meat." Campanius, *Cate.,* 146. *Mamaare* is the Lenapé name for the fish.

[20] *På sijne fiäll som Sarffwen.*

[21] *Påttfiskar. Björkman* translates the word by *Cachalot,* see *Ordbok,* 852.

[22] *Dock gult horn.* The idea is that the shell is like yellow horn.

feet, [they] have tails about half an ell in length, [shaped] like a three-edged saw with which one can saw off the hardest wood. And when the wind lies from the sea into the river, then large quantities of them are driven ashore.[23]

Oysters are found on the great oyster banks in and outside of the river; [also] mussels and eels. The cat-fish[24] is a species of fat fish, with a large head, small sharp horns, one on each side [of the head] at the ears, as long as a sewing needle, with which they can sting [a person] sorely, [a wound] which does not heal readily. They almost resemble the eel-pout, but have a sweet taste like a tench.

The cuttle-fish[25] is a kind of fish which does not have any head. It is about a quarter[26] in length and 4 fingers in breadth, like a *sprunn*,[27] but somewhat curved on top. And in all 4 corners, on either side, a long narrow gut like a narrow rope, runs out, about 3 ells in length and as thick as a coarse twisted thread; with the first two guts it sucks in the food and [from] the other two [it] discharged it. These guts the fish pushes out and draws them in again, so that they are not seen, and with them it conducts its body with great facility, wherever it desires, which is a remarkable thing to observe, and the house itself around the fish is brown horn.[28]

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[23] Something that still happens on the New Jersey and Delaware shores.

[24] *Diocopar.*

[25] *Tarmfisken*, really the gut-fish.

[26] *Ett quarteer långh, a quarter of an ell*, see Chapt. VIII, note 17.

[27] Perhaps *Sprunn* is the modern Swedish *Sprund*, bung or plug.

[28] *Och sielfwa hwset omkringh fisken är brunt horn.*

But at the [West] Indian Islands, which are situated in mid-ocean, there are found whales, sharks, dolphins, sea-swine,[29] flying fish, [and] cucculus.[30] In fact all the different kinds of fishes, which are in the ocean, may be seen near these islands, which are situated in mid-ocean.

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[29] *Siöswyn*, translated as porpoises in the copy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[30] The translation in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has sea-bass for *cucculus*.

17. "In their ears they have brass and tin rings and small bunches of their money hanging." See p. 196. Observe especially the "plate" or badge worn by the figure to the left. This is probably of stone, corresponding to the objects represented in plate No. 28, upper row. From De Bry, *Voyages*.

18. "On their heads they have sitting long and large painted bird feathers. Around their necks they have strung much money, hanging down like a lot of chains on their breasts." See p. 196. From De Bry, *Voyages*.

CHAPTER IX.

Concerning the Natural Disposition, Life, Temper and Stature of the American Savage People.[1]

These wild people in New Sweden, they are not called wild because we believe them to be mad and insane, but on account of their idolatry and error in religion. [They] are a kind of people of brownish color,[2] quick, skillful in working with their hands, willing, clever and ready to learn and grasp a thing. In stature and form [they] are tall, some of them, medium and some, short; a well proportioned people, slender and straight as a candle. Why there are no hunchbacks among them the following chapter, concerning the rearing of their children will show, how they are treated while they are young.[3]

It is a brave people, daring, revengeful; are eager for war, fearless, heroic, strong in their arms, but very weak across their back, very agile, and limber,[4] running like horses and have the

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[1] *Om dee Americaniske wilde Menniskiors naturlige skickellese, lefnat, humeur och Gestalt.* Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 110 ff.

[2] *Af bruun achtigh coleur.* Hence Lindeström does not call them red, but describes them correctly.

[3] See below, Chapt. XII.

[4] *Mycket wijge och lätte.* "They are generally quick on foot, brought up from the breasts to running; their legs being also from the wombe stretcht and bound up in a strange way on their Cradle backward, as also anointed; yet have they some that excell: So that I have knowne many of them run betweene foure-scoure or an hundred miles in a Summers day, and back in two dayes: they doe also practice running of *Races;* and commonly in the Summer, they delight to goe without shoes, although they

scent of animals like dogs; have a good memory, are intimate in conversation,[5] industrious and diligent, clever, charitable, wide awake, bold,[6] inquisitive,[7] patient and hardened to stand much hardship. On the other hand, they are also very mischievous,[8] haughty, are eager for praise, wanton, bestial, mistrustful, untruthful and thievish, dishonorable, coarse in their affections, shameless and unchaste.

In short these Indians are people of various qualities and more inclined towards bad than towards good, which will be further observed in the following.

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have them hanging at their backs: they are so exquisitely skilled in all the body and bowels of the Countrey (by reason of their huntings) that I have often been guided twentie, thirtie, yea, sometimes fortie miles through the woods, a streight course, out of any path." Williams, *Key*, 73–4.

[5] *Förtrogne i conversation*, that is they are trusting and openhearted.

[6] *Karske*, also *morske*, bold, cocky.

[7] *Undhersamme*, wondering, inquisitive. In this connection Williams says: "Their desire of, and delight in newes, is great, as the *Athenians*, and all Men, more or lesse; a stranger that can relate newes in their owne language, they will stile him *Manittoo*, a God." *Key*., 62.

[8] *Odijgdige*.

CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

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[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hwshåldningh består lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

a period of about that length is designated, during which she must go the whole time in her bridal attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

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[4] *Skrååbukeansichte (Skråpukansigte)*, mask, scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

19. Indian family by Lindeström. Original size; from the *Geographia*.

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the Habit, Clothes, Decoration and Ornaments of the American Savage People.

As to the subject of this chapter we shall begin with the head [of the savages] and continue to the feet. Firstly as to to the males. They shave off the hair upon their heads with sharp flints,[1] allowing tufts to remain here and there, and the bare places they color with red paint. Their hair is by nature coal black and long grown, so that their locks at the ears, which[2] they allow to hang uncut, reach down to the knees, which they, together with the other hair, anoint with bear fat, that it shines so that one can see one's reflection in it.[3] The locks they bind up with braids and ribbons and their threaded money. On the ends of their hair they string money and tie a knot to [it].[4] Around the head over the forehead they bind a belt of money, the width of a hand, strung in the form of figures.[5]

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[1] Small pieces of chipped flint.

[2] *Which* refers to locks; the order is Lindeström's.

[3] *Så en kan spegla sigh ther uthj.* Williams says in this connection: "Yet some cut their haire round, and some as low and as short as the sober English; yet I never saw any so to forget nature it selfe in such excessive length and monstrous fashion, as to the shame of the English Nation, I now (with grief) see my Countrey-men in England are degenerated unto." *Key*, 58.

[4] A custom described by other early writers. This form of decoration is common among primitive peoples. I saw it over large areas in West Africa.

[5] Something like the wampum belt. See picture facing this page. This headband is also common among primitive peoples.

By nature they indeed get whiskers, but they do not wish to have any, because they think it is shameful, wherefore, when the first hairs appear they sit and always pull and pluck out the hair with the roots, so that it never gets to grow,[6] but they look smooth on the chin as the women. They paint themselves in all kinds of ways in the face with all kinds of colors, so that they look inexpressibly horrible, when they think themselves to be adorned in the best manner. In their ears they have brass and tin rings and small bunches of money hanging. On their heads they have sitting long and large painted bird feathers. Around their necks they have strung much money, hanging down like a lot of chains on their breasts. And among these they have their *Pååhra* or idol hanging, concerning which more will be said hereafter, in the chapter about their faith and religion. On their backs they have their *notasser*[7] or bags hanging, very skillfully and neatly made, in which

[6] *När huldhåren uthspricka, sittia the alltydh* [*och*] *ryckia och plocka uth håår*[*en*] *medh rötterne.* Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.

[7] The bags were made of corn husks, hemp and bast, often beautifully decorated. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, 107 ff., 269. The Lenapé (and possibly general Algonkian) word for bag, in this case with Swedish plural ending *-er*. Lindeström often used Indian words with the Swedish plural ending. The early settlers of all nationalities adopted many words from the Indians, some of which have become part of the English, French, Spanish or Portuguese languages in America of today. The Dutch and Swedes likewise borrowed many such words, but these forms died out with the elimination of the Dutch and Swedish languages. Only in a small district in New Jersey has a Dutch Dialect survived to our day, and this is greatly mixed with Indian words. In Dutch documents the word occurs as "*denotas*, bags," *Doc.*, I, 284. De Vries calls them *notassen*. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 81. For Indian Bags, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 125.

As to the decorations of the Indians Williams says: "They hang these strings of money about their necks and wrists; as also upon the necks and wrists of their wives and children." *Key*, 131.

they have their things, such as food, money, tobacco, tobacco pipes, very artistically and well made; also bows and quarrels[8] (like those of the Poles) and helmets made of hard wooden pins and strong wood, that no arrow can go through them. Around their arms at the hands[9] they have brass and tin rings and threaded money, hanging like chains. In their hands they have tobacco pipes an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather, to lean on, and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco.[10] Around their waists they have tied a broad belt of money, strung in the form of figures, from which their pieces of cloth hang,[11]

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[8] *Bågar och skiäcktor (skäckta)*, scutcher, swingle.

[9] *Om armarne weed händerne;* that is the wrist.

[10] *En godh näfwe*, a good handful. "*Hurit Siscko Hopockan*, a beautiful clay pipe. The Barbarians make tobacco-pipes of red, yellow and blue clay, which is found there in the country of fine quality.

Hurit Assaenn Hopockan, a beautiful stone pipe. For the Barbarians also make tobacco pipes of white, grey, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are found so soft (*blöta*), that they can be cut with a knife, and from this, pipes half an ell in length are made." Campanius, *Cate.*, 143.

Williams says: "Generally all the Men throughout the Countrey have a Tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes, both of wood and stone, that they are two foot long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a Man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these commonly come from *Mauquauwogs*, or the men eaters, three or four hundred miles from us. They have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes. They take their *Wuttamauog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the Men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe; and yet excesse were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of Beare and Wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe." *Key*, 55. Cf. also Smith, p. 24; De Vries and other early Dutch writers, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 23, etc.

[11] "*Machequoce*, a Girdle; which they make curiously of one, two, three, foure and five inches thicknesse and more, of this money which (sometimes to the value of ten pounds and more) they weare about their middle and as a scarfe about their shoulders and breasts." Williams, *Key*, 131.

which some of them use to cover themselves with, which are of red or blue frieze or deer skin, everywhere sewed on with their money, and around the edges which hang down, lightly fastened with hanging narrow strips, like thick long fringes on the ends of which they also have money strung. Over their shoulders they have belts of money, threaded into figures. Otherwise, while the savages grow up they go quite naked, the very way they are born to this world, with the exception of the money they carry on themselves, knowing of no shame, and would not to this day hide their privacy, if they were not corrupted[12] by the Christians, of whom they are ashamed, and are hence compelled, if they wish to have dealings with the Christians, to cover themselves with something.

Lately, however, the sachems or chiefs of the savages and some of the principal savages have

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[12] *Uthskiämde*, perhaps Lindeström means: to cause to be ashamed.

Williams says:

"They have a two-fold nakednesse:

"First, ordinary and constant, when although they have a Beasts skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the foreparts from top to toe, (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron, after the patterne of their and our first Parents) I say all else open and naked.

"Their male children goe starke naked, and have no Apron untill they come to ten or twelve yeers of age; their Female they, in a modest blush cover with a little Apron of an hand breadth from their very birth. Their second nakednesse is when their men often abroad and both men and women within doores, leave off their beasts skin, or English cloth and so (excepting their little Apron) are wholly naked; yet but few of the women but will keepe their skin or cloth (though loose) or neare to them ready to gather it up about them.

"Custom hath used their minds and bodies to it, and in such a freedom from any wantonnesse, that I have never seen that wantonnesse amongst them, as, (with griefe) I have heard of in Europe." *Key*, 106. Cf. also Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194.

begun to buy shirts from the Christians, reaching to the knees; but they do not know enough to let them be washed, but let them stay on unwashed as long as there is a single piece left. Lately the Christians have had a lot of coats, reaching to the knees, made of frieze for the savages living nearest [to themselves], the one side of the breast and back, red, the other side, blue, likewise on the arms, as the clothes of the orphan children in Stockholm are made. These [coats] the principal sachems bought from the Christians and liked them very much. Otherwise, when they want to be well dressed they wrap around themselves an ell of red or blue frieze of the broad Dutch frieze,[13] which they also buy from the Christians. On their feet they use *sippackor* or laced shoes of deer skin,[14] bordered and decorated with their money, almost in the same manner as the northern lace-shoe.[15]

The habit of the women is the same as that of the men, the only difference being in the adornment of the hair, in that the females braid their hair in 4 locks, which they allow to hang down the

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[13] *Breeda hollänska frijset.*

[14] A Lenapé word (whose root is present in the various Algonkian dialects). It is found as *seppock, shipak,* etc., and came to mean shoe. It was adopted into English as *shoepack.* Lindeström added the Swedish plural *-or* (*sippackor*), as Swedish words ending in *a* were usually feminine and took the plural in *-or.* See also Campanius, *Cate.* Cf. note 7, above, and Chapt. VIII, note 5d. In Minsi the word seems to have been *matchtschipak* (*matchesin, mockussin* (New England), etc., *moccasin.*) Cf. Brinton, *Dict.,* 71; Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 171–2; Williams, *Key,* 107. The Indian shoes were made of corn husks and (mostly) of leather (deer or elk). Cf. *N. Y. Col.,* 2, II, 269.

[15] *Norrländske snörpskor.* "Shoes" somewhat similar to the Indian moccasins were used by the Lapps and Finns in Northern Sweden.

back or they tie it up in a square pouch on the back. Some of them tie it in a square pouch made for that purpose, but indeed they do not shave the hair off their heads nor do they use belts.[16] Some of them have their bags hanging on the side as the men do. This may now be sufficient about the dress of the Indians which can also be seen from the accompanying drawing of the savages.[17]

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[16] *Eij heller bruka de gehängh.* *Gehäng* really means a sword belt or baldrick.

[17] Their covering, say the Dutch writers, was a coat of skin (beaver, bear, raccoon, etc.), with the fur outside in summer, inside in winter; or a coat of turkey feathers as described by Lindeström. They also wore leather girdles, ornamented with pieces of whale's fin, whale's bone, or wampum. Later the natives adopted shirts and cloth from the colonists. Cf. De Vries, Van der Donck, Rasier, the *Vertoogh*, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 194, II, 269, 347, III, 95, etc.; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 310 ff.

CHAPTER XII.

Concerning the Treatment and Education of the Children of the American Savages.

As soon as the children are born to the world the savage female takes the child and binds it to a piece of board, which is just as long as the child, with three long and broad braids, and does not place the smallest particle of clothing under or above the child. The first braid she wraps over the forehead and around the board, the second braid, right over the arms and the board, the third braid, right over the knees and the board, tying it[1] right strongly to the board.[2]

Then [she] puts it away on the ground, bends a bow over it, the two ends of which on either side she puts down into the ground, above this the savage female places a deer skin.

When she now takes the child to suckle it, she takes the child together with the board, so that it always remains lying fastened to the board; but every time she takes the child to herself, she presses the child over the forehead with her hands the hardest she is able against the board, as well as the breast and the knees. Through this the savages become as straight as a candle and flat in the neck as a board.[3] The savage female never

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[1] The child.

[2] *Knytandes det rätt hårdt till brädet.* For this custom, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 265, 357–8. Cf. De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[3] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 96.

loosens it from the board, while it is young, except when she must do so for sanitary reasons. Nor do we ever hear their children cry or whine like the Christian children, but [they] are very patient. But when some illness attacks them, then they lament so miserably and quietly with a soft sound. However, they show themselves very tender towards their children, nor do they do away with their children, as unfortunately the prostitutes among the Christians too often do.[4]

When now the children finally get out of this their swaddle, they carry their children with them on their backs, just like the gypsies do.[5]

But as soon as the male children become so large that they can run around, they exercise them with cross bows and slings, and when they become somewhat larger with the shooting of guns; and then names are given to them, how they are to be called.[6] But when the children become somewhat older, so that they arrive at some understanding, then they select and adopt their *Pååhra* or idol, faith and religion, about which we shall see below in the chapter concerned.[7]

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[4] Williams observes in this connection: "They nurse all their children themselves; yet, if she be an high or rich woman, she maintaines a Nurse to tend the childe." *Key*, 52.

[5] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 357.

[6] By what name they are to be called.

[7] See below, Chapt. XV.

CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning the Language of the American Savage People.

There is not much in particular to write about this, except that it is a poor language,[1] that a word may have many meanings, yet is spoken with a high pronunciation. As for instance when the savage says: *Ita kire,* that is to say, God's peace, welcome, how are you? *kire,* thou; *nir,* I; *tanckomen kire,* whence comest thou? *kecko hatte marrama,* what hast thou to sell? *punck,* powder; *aruns,* lead; *pickon,* gun; *makirick pickon,* a cannon or a large gun; *orit kire,* thou art beautiful and handsome; *måkij,* yes indeed; *kicksj ita,* that's so; *nittappe kire,* thou art my good friend; *sewan,* money; *pååhra,* God; *manitto,* the evil one.[2]

Besides this we may also observe [something about the language] by the savage words and names, both here in the relation concerning New Sweden as well as from the map of New Sweden, whose lands, islands and creeks are all given and designated in the Indian language. Besides this these Indians or savage people are so clever, that when they see and observe that they have any dispute[3] with any of the surrounding nations, then he who is sachem or chief calls together all his people and instructs them saying: "Now we have

[1] *Ett fattigt språk,* not rich in words. This erroneous opinion has often been expressed even by modern writers. Cf. *Doc.,* I, 281.
[2] Cf. Campanius, *Cate;* Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 144 ff.
[3] *Någon fienskap,* really enmity, warfare.

enemies of that or that nation, therefore we must make up a new language. This is now hereafter to be called thus and that this, so that our enemies who understand our language, used up to this time, may not be able to find out in the present times of war, what we have in mind to carry on against them; which none of our Renappi dare on pain of death disclose to our enemies;[4] and from this we can observe what a strong memory they have, that those who are neither able to read or write, are able to memorize such a lot in a hurry.[5]

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[4] It appears from this that the Indian had a kind of code language. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 567 ff. See also *Doc.*, I, 281.

[5] "Their Braines are quick, their hands,
Their feet, their tongues, their eyes;
God may fit objects in his time,
To those quicke faculties."
Williams, *Key*, 43.

20. "These Indians . . . use no other arms but bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, set with sharp flint stones." See p. 206. The plate or badge worn on a strap is probably what Van der Donck refers to when he says: "They carried a black badge on their breast."

CHAPTER XIV

Concerning the Origin, Warfare, Government and Guns of the American Savage People.

Concerning this,[1] [it can be said that] those who are the sachems of the Indians do not know how to take such into observation; but those who are rulers retain the mastery and command, children after children, those who are male persons, whose subjects are to be submissive and obedient, which they [also] are,[2] attempting nothing else than to live up to that [which] they are commanded [to do], and in case they do otherwise, then he who is sachem holds them to strict justice that he without pardon,[3] when [someone is] caught in the act, consigns the same to death. And if any savage of one nation kills one of another, immediately he[4] sends one of his subjects to the same nation and stealthily has one of them killed, whereby at once war is caused between them. Further, they follow no other law or justice, but in whatever manner anyone unjustly suffers from the other, they immediately revenge on one another, like for like.[5]

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[1] Concerning the origin of the government, *i.e.*, the chiefship of the Indians. The idea is that the sachems do not know anything about the origin of the people or of their own families, or how their families at first were raised to the rank of rulers.

[2] *Thet the och äro.* "This word and the next, are words of great flattery which they use each to other, but constantly to their Princes at their speeches, for which, if they be eloquent, they esteeme them Gods as Herod among the *Jewes.*" Williams, *Key,* 63.

[3] *Uthan pardon.*

[4] The chief.

[5] "If any robbery fall out in Travell, between Persons of diverse States, the offended State sends for Justice; if no Justice bee

In military matters and warfare these Indians are brave, using no other arms but rifles, bows, spears, arrows and quarrels, which are set with sharp flint [stones], and they use helmets which are made of sticks and wood, so strong that no quarry is able to go through it. They show no reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them, but their sachem may come to sit just as soon last as first, thus and in other such things [they show no preference for their sachems].[6]

They know nothing of taxation and they are entirely ignorant of architecture and fortifications.[7]

Since I in this chapter have mentioned something about muskets, I will not neglect to say that in the year 1380 the art to shoot with guns was invented in Germany by a monk and alchemist by the name of Bartholdh Schwartz.[8]

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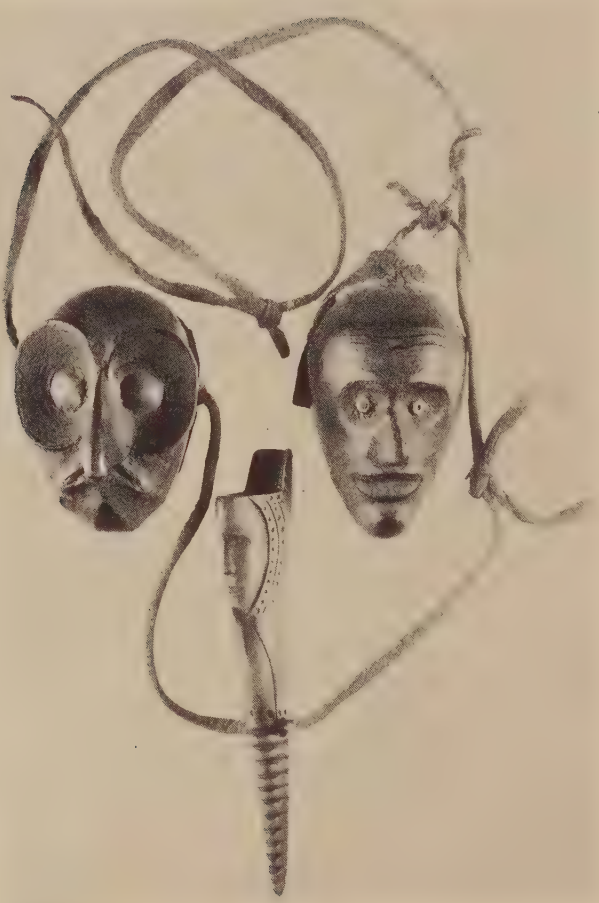
granted and recompence made, they grant out a kind of Letter of Mart to take satisfaction themselves, yet they are carefull not to exceed in taking from others, beyond the proportion of their owne losse." Williams, *Key*, 76–7.

[6] Perhaps my copy is defective here.

[7] *Medh Architecteurer och Fortificationer att umgåås är them aldeeles okunnigt.* Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 77 ff.

[8] Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklitzen(?)) of Freiburg(?), inventor of artillery and probably of gunpowder.



21. Two small fetish masks of wood, and what was possibly a powder measure, made from an antler, carved with a human face and apparently the tail of a rattlesnake. This was undoubtedly carried on the same strap as the mask to the left, probably by a Lenape Chief. "The *Pâåhra* . . . is hung on a chain of their money on their breast." (See p. 207.) From original in University of Pennsylvania Museum. Photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Gordon, Director of the Museum.

CHAPTER XV.

Concerning the Paahra, Idolatry, Faith and Religion and Sacrifices to Manitto: the Devil, Also Whether the Indians Have a Knowledge of Christ.

With reference to the religion of the Indians [it is to be observed] that they adopt their *Pååhra*[1] or idol when they are about 15 years old. Thus the one makes for himself a child of skin with head, body, arms, hands, legs and feet to believe in. The other selects a lion claw, that one, a bear claw, this one, an eagle claw, that one, a lion tooth, this one, a bear tooth, this one, a bird bill, etc. In fine, whatever limb of any animal, bird, fish or other [living thing] they desire to choose for their god or *Pååhra,* as they call [it], which is hung on a chain of their money on their breast, they consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it,—the one who attempts it, he becomes his chief enemy.[2] In this their god they have such a

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[1] *Pååhra (pōra).* This is a cognate of *boahigan* (Penobscot), stem *boa (poa),* which Prof. Speck says "denotes the concept of mystery." It is found in most dialects of the northeastern tribes, *bua-, pu-, bao-, pow-,* etc. *Boahigan,* which Speck says means "instrument of mystery," and Lindeström's *pååhra (pōra, bōla)* possibly denote the same concept,—"object through which or by which mysterious power is obtained and practiced." Cf. Speck, *Penobscot Shamanism, Mem. of Am. Anth. Ass.,* VI, 249 ff.

Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations,* 239 ff. For Dutch accounts, see De Vries, Van der Donck, etc., *N. Y. Col.,* 2, I, 138, 213, 227, etc.; II, 203; III, 956, 159, etc. Cf. also Brainerd, Journal (*Merabilia Dei,* etc.); Hesselius, *Kort Berettelse* (1725), 2 ff.

[2] The *taboo* of charms and fetishes is common among primitive peoples. Even the natives of Cape Verde Islands will not allow their charms to be touched. They are civilized, call themselves

strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a polite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

boy," they say. "His like will never come here again. He had so much to say that it was a great wonder and [he] performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air, up there," they say, and point to heaven. "He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again," they say. "Sometime after him," they said, "a large-mouth with large beard,[7] like your large mouths are," they said, and likened him to our pastors. "He also had much to say for a time.[8] That one also went up there, like the other one," and the [Indians] pointed to heaven. "He promised also," they said, "to come back here to us again, but he never came." And it must surely have been one of the apostles, for the word of God is true, which can never fail us:[9] *Euntes docete omnes Gentes,* etc.[10] So far they know of Christ and his apostles and can relate it from hearsay from their fathers and forefathers.

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[7] *Stoort skiägg,* large beard, *i.e.,* long beard. The long, thick beard of some of the pastors made a strong impression on the Indians who had seen nothing like it before.

[8] *Han hade och mycket af munnen en tijdh. Lit.* he had also much of the mouth for a time.

[9] Perhaps Lindeström refers to the belief prevalent in the middle ages and later, that the apostles had visited all continents and all countries, according to the injunction quoted in Latin from the New Testament.

[10] Go and teach all people. Cf. *Mark,* XVI, 15.

CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning the Dwellings of the American Savage People.

During the summer they have no certain dwellings, but move about here and there around the country. However, in the fall each and every sachem has a house built for himself, which he and his subjects can live in during the winter, and during the summer they sing with the rabbit [and make a] house in every bush.[1] The house which they then build[2] is thus made, namely: first posts [are] dug down into the ground and set [down] securely, on which poles are fastened, the walls and half of the sides of the roof they clothe and cover with bark; the roof up at the ridge, where the smoke is to escape, they make open, an ell on either side of the ridge, all along the house, as long as it may be. And the length of the house they then plan according to the multitude of people [in the clan], that they can all be accommodated under one roof, about 100, 200, or 300 ells in length. But the width is on each side of the fireplace the length of a man, that they can lay lengthwise between the fire and the walls; for they have always the fire made lengthwise along the house, right in the center under the ridge, which burns night and day while the winter lasts. And they have one door only on each gable.[3] In this house

[1] That is: they sleep under a tree.

[2] In the winter.

[3] *En dörr hafwe the allenast på hwar gaffwell.* The chestnut bark was mostly used for the covering of the buildings. Cf. Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 151, 196. See also Beatty, *Journal* (Lon-

they now dwell while the winter lasts, and if the Christians then[4] had in mind to exterminate them, it could then be readily done; but that would be of no value or advantage to the Christians, for they are the slaves of the Christians which they themselves cannot know or observe. And the trade, traffic and commerce of the Christians would be of small value in that place, if the savages would not be [there]. The savages are ever willing and anxious to serve the Christians; [they] allow themselves to be commanded by the Christians, as if they were their subjects, but through good words; with dictation we get nowheres with them. If we should desire to prepare a feast, or if one otherwise may need [something] for the household, be it deer, turkeys, wild geese, wood-grouse, black-grouse, pigeons, etc., or whatever kind of game or fresh fish it may be, and one will command the savage to procure it, on that or that day for good pay, one may indeed be sure that he will get that which is desired, at the promised time. Thus in all other things which we may command, one may surely believe that it will be followed.

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don, 1768), 44–72; *Mss. 1412, yi*, Ridgway Library. Williams says: "Most commonly there houses are open, their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of itselfe; yet many of them get *English* boards and nailes, and make artificiall doores and bolts themselves, and others make slighter doores of *Burch* or *Chestnut* barke, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last (that makes fast) goes out at the Chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house, called: *Wunnauchicomock*, a chimney." *Key*, 51.

The long house with two fires was called *neesquttow;* with three fires, *shiwshcuttow*, etc. The round house was called *puttuckakaun*, *Key* 47.

[4] During the winter.

22. Indian village, showing cornfield, tobacco plantation, etc. From De Bry, *Voyages.*

23. Indian village with palisades. See p. 241. From De Bry, *Voyages.*

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Hunting and Shooting of the American Savage People.

The soil in New Sweden is so loose, as if we stood and poked in ashes, because the earth there is not so closely rooted or sodded, as when it is somewhat used in the beginning, burnt, sown and cut.[1] There indeed grows a great deal of high grass, which reaches above the knees of a man, but the stalks are so far apart that one can uproot it like flax or hemp. There is also no thickly grown forest but the trees stand far apart, as if they were planted. The soil also appears there in the country, as if it formerly had stood under water, for there is found everywhere on the ground an abundance of all kinds of mussels and shells, as well as other things that are found in the water.[2]

Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation.[3] Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people [to

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[1] *Jorden in Nova Suecia är så löös som man stodo och rörde j Aska, af ordsaak att Jorden är ther inthet så tätt rotader eller vallader såsom när hon blyfwer något j förstonne brukader, brändh, sådder och afslagen.* This is ambiguous. Perhaps it means that the ground is loose before grass-roots and other growths have made it tough.

[2] *Musslor och allehanda skaaler sampt annat som i wattnet finnes.*

[3] *Artigh invention.* See above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

take a position] close together in a circle of ½, 1 or 2 miles,[4] according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm,[5] then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain [they consecrate to Manitto]. When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast[6] they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i.e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that

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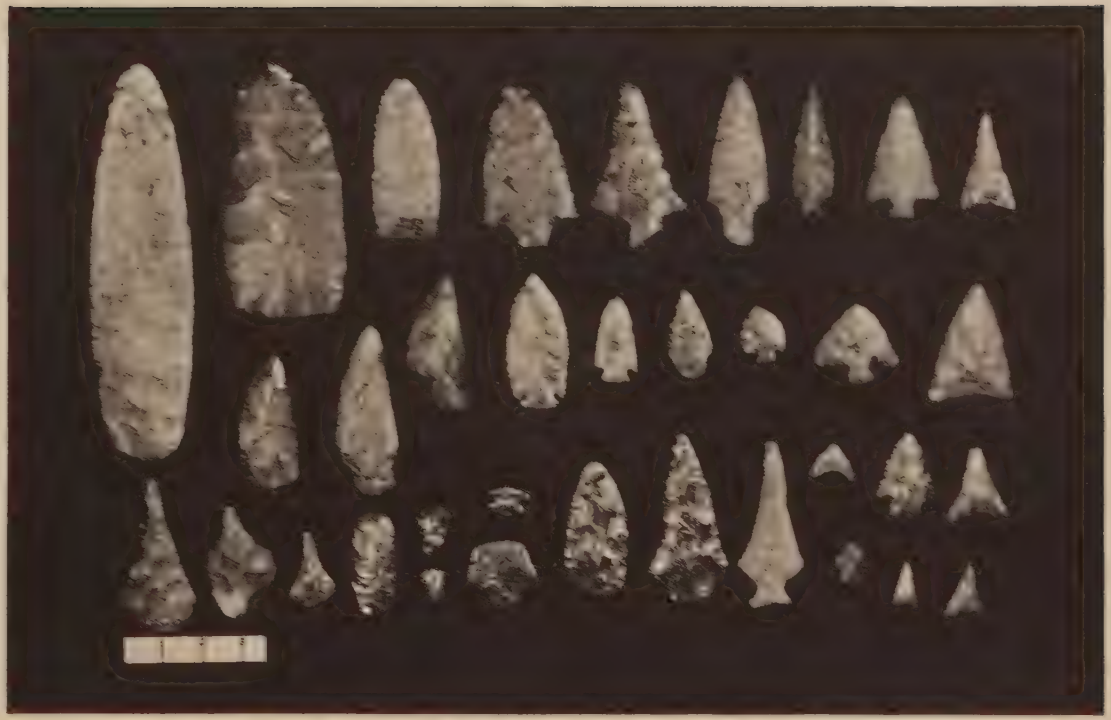
[4] Swedish or German miles.

[5] The idea is: when the circle has been so contracted that the animals run from one side of the circle to the other but before the hunters get too near to one another, they begin shooting. Dr. V. O. Freeburg, of New York, tells me that wolf hunts of this character were arranged in Kansas in the early days. Cf. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 167; III, 108, etc. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 581.

[6] *Och hollet sitt giästebodh.*



24 Collection of Blades, Knives, Spear Points, Arrowheads, Drills and Scrapers, mostly of Yellow Jasper, from the Delaware Valley, principally, Bucks Co., Pa

(In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.)

they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia,* etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

[7] *Tå roopa the och sunga således, nämbl.*

[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj,* etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 153 ff.; above, p. XL.

[9] *Uthi detta sitt convent.*

[10] Wampum.

[11] Like the one described above.

that far,[12] when he extends his limbs so that daylight shines through his elbow joints. When a Christian wrestles with a savage, if he[13] does not get at his back [he cannot prevail against him], he can do nothing against his arms.

The savages also use a splendid system[14] for killing pigeons in quantities with great ease. When the pigeons come flying, which [at times] may be a few hundred pairs in a flock, or following, then they usually settle[15] down to rest in the largest and highest tree, which they find. Then they also have the custom that in the tree in which they once used to rest, they will, with preference go there again. When now the savage observes where they have been accustomed to rest, the savage goes and cuts around the tree, so that it stands only on the center. When now the pigeons come there again to sit down, they cannot possibly

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[12] For bows and arrows and their effectiveness, see Pope, *A Study of Bows and Arrows*, U. of Cal. Pub., XIII, No. 9, p. 329 ff. Cf. also Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 92–4, and literature quoted there.

[13] The Christian.

[14] *Een artig invention*, see above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

[15] *Då sättia the sigh.* Cf. Henry D. Paxson, *The Last of the Wild Pigeon in Bucks County* (1912). Williams says: "In that place these Fowle breed abundantly, and by reason of their delicate Food (especially in Strawberrie time when they pick up whole large Fields of the old grounds of the Natives, they are a delicate fowle, and because of their abundance, and the facility of killing them, they are and may be plentifully fed on." *Key*, 87. Van der Donck says in this connection: "De Wilden of Naturellen van het Landt weten oock somtijts de plaetsen daer sy broyen uyt te vinden, en met lange stocken de jonge Duyven uyt de nesten te stooten, op sulcke plaetsen die sy soo verkiesen om te broyen daer scholen sy met sulcke gruwelijcke meenichte van ontelbare duysenden by een, dat de Wilden met Wyven [en] kinderen doer naer toe trecken, deckwils eenighe hunderden sterck zynde, wel een Maent doer ontrent blyvende, en schier anders niet eeten als jonge Duyven, die sy soo met stocken als geseght is uyt de nesten stooten." *Beschryvinge*, 41.

set themselves so evenly on the tree that they weigh alike on either side, whereby the tree falls over and kills a large number of them, for many cannot save themselves in such a fury of branches and leaves, nor fly away. There is also an abundance of swans and wild geese to shoot.[16]

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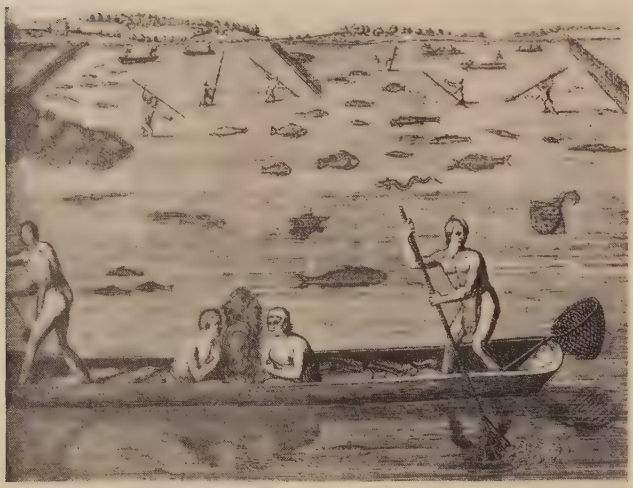
[16] Williams says in this connection: "The Indians having abundance of these sorts of Foule upon their waters, take great paines to kill any of them with their Bow and Arrowes; and are marvellous desirous of our English Guns, powder and shot (though they are wisely and generally denied by the English) yet with those which they get from the French, and some others (Dutch and English) they kill abundance of Fowle, being naturally excellent marksmen; and also more hardned to endure the weather, and wading, lying, and creeping on the ground." *Key*, 86.

25. "Later in the year, when the grass has been burnt off the land . . . they shoot the animals wherever they can find them in the woods." See p. 215. The method of disguise pictured above was cleverly employed by the Indians in a variety of forms.



26. Fishing. See pp. 219–20. "They use no other vessels . . . than canoes." They also mason for themselves a little fireplace." (Notice the smoke between the two sitting figures.) See p. 238.

CHAPTER XVIII

Concerning the Fishing of the American Savage People.

The savages do not know the use of seines, nets, hooks, trolling rods or trolling-line;[1] but far up in the kills or in the creeks emptying into the river, they arrange their fishing, either where the kills stop,[2] [up] in the country or at the falls. There they close in the kills right across,[3] leaving only a little opening or entrance for the fish right above like a *kassenoor.*[4] Now when the river rises and the water is highest they close up the opening, but when the water is run out and the ebb is lowest then the fish remains behind in the low water,

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[1] It appears strange that Lindeström did not see nets among the Delawares. Williams says: "*Ashop*, their nets. Which they will set thwart some little River or Cove wherein they kill Basse (at the fall of the water) with their arrows, or sharp sticks, especially if headed with Iron, gotten from the English." *Key*, 102.

Van der Donck gives the following lists of fishing implements used by the Indians: *seines, set-nets, small fikes, weirs, hooks.* See also De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 95, etc.

[2] That is: at the source of a creek or at a waterfall. Cf. note 1, above, quoting Williams.

[3] *der stängia the kijlarne twert öfwer.* This custom of fishing is common among primitive peoples. I saw it in many places in West Africa. See the interesting account of Indian shad fishing in Loskiel, *Hist. of the Mis. of the U. B. among the Ind. of N. A.*, I, 94 ff.

[4] *Kassanoor (kassenoor).* This is apparently an Indian word (though as to form it might be Spanish or Portuguese), meaning fishtrap, or the opening of the fish-weir. The Penobscot *ksenanggan,* fish-weir, is then a cognate, the stem being *ksenang-, kasan-*. . . . "Nodli tun ksenanggan k'wsagai sibu." (Then he made a weir across the river.) Speck, *Penobscot Transf. Tales. Int. Journal of Am. Ling.*, I, 192–3.

where they either catch them with their hands or shoot it.[5] Otherwise, they also shoot it in deep water, where they can find it, and thus they obtain fish of all kinds, that are found there in abundance, spending [nothing] on either seines, nets or any fishing implements. Consequently the nourishment of the savages thus consists of agriculture, hunting, shooting, fishing, trade and the manufacture of their neat wares, concerning which we shall be informed hereafter.[6]

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[5] The fish. Cf. also note 1, above, quoting Williams; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 461 ff.

[6] See below, Chapt. XIX.

27. *Two upper figures*– 1. Large Tubular Pipe, N. J. 2. Tubular Pipe (Broken), N. J. *Below broken tubular pipe to left*—Clay Pipe ("trade pipe" of European manufacture), Indian Grave, Chester Co., Pa. Clay Pipe, Trumpet Shape, Indian manufacture, Vincentown, N. J. *To left, below clay pipe*—Iron Trade Pipe (European manufacture), Grave, Hunterdon Co., N. J. Iron Trade Pipe (European manufacture), Grave, N. J. *To the extreme right and bottom*—3 Small Stone Pipes, N. J.

CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning the Manufacture of the Attractive and the Artistic Wares of the American Savage People.

Write or read the savages cannot, nor do any other work like the Christians, such as spin, weave, sew, *et talia, etc.* But their work consists[1] in neatly working [various things] by drawing, painting and glazing, as for instance their bags,[2] which they make so large that 1 quart, ½ gallon, yes 1, 1½, 2, 2½, 3 up to 6 gallons can go into them, to keep grain and all kinds of other such [things] in. These they elaborate with all kinds of figures of painted pine roots and also split,[3] painted sticks, unspeakably strong.[4]

They also make very neat tobacco pipes with all kinds of birds and animals on the pipe head, very beautifully painted and glazed.[5] There are also found beautiful colors of all kinds, which we can see by their neat and artistically painted work of bird feathers, tobacco pipes and more such [things]. They also make very fine and beautiful quilts[6] of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine;[7]

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[1] *Uthan deres arbete gåår uth på.* Cf. *Vertoogh, N. Y. Col.,* 2, II, 270; *Doc.,* I, 282; Williams, *Key,* 133.

[2] *Notasser.* See above, Chapt. XI, note 7.

[3] *Upfläcka,* to tear up (?); cf. *fläcka sönder,* tear asunder.

[4] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook,* I, 125, 132; above Chapt. XI, note 7.

[5] Cf. Chapt. IX, note 10; Hodge, *Handbook,* II, 257 ff.

[6] *Skiöna fällar. Fäll* usually means skins with the fur, fell.

[7] *Dock mycket granne.*

then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it; it would sooner go clear off.[8] They also make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls with, and to place below their bed clothes.[9]

They also make helmets of hard sticks and strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go through it.[10]

The late Governor Printz had the savages make and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money, which was very artistic, threaded and worked with all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand florins.[11] And [there is] much more, which could be described about their artistic manufacture, if space and time would allow. In fine if they were trained and kept at it, they would become very expert, for they are by nature capable to grasp and comprehend immediately what they see.[12]

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[8] The feather would sooner break off than come loose.
[9] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.
[10] Repetition, see above.
[11] Williams says: "*Neyhommauashunck*, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their *Neyhommauog* or Turkies, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.
[12] Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

28. *First row, top to bottom*—Four Cards—Indian Traders' Glass Beads, from Graves, Washington Boro, Lancaster Co., Pa. *Top row, left to right*—7 perforated stones, principally from Delaware Valley (Pa.), in some cases worn for decorations, see plate 18. *Central figures*—Stone Top (?), N. J. Stone Ball, Bucks Co., Pa., Bird Stone, Pa. *To extreme right, centre*—Perforated Rubbing Stone (carried on a string around the neck (?)), Pa. *Remaining figures*—Stone Beads, Delaware Valley and Bucks Co., Pa.

CHAPTER XX.

Concerning the Commerce, Trade and Dealings of the American Savages and How Their Goods Are Sold to the Christians, Also How the Merchandise of the Christians Is Disposed for Them to the Savages.

Concerning the merchandise of the savages [it is to be said] that they[1] sell to the Christians all kinds of fur goods, such as beavers, otters, lynxes, fishers,[2] raccoons,[3] minks, wild-cats, elk-hides, bear-hides, wolf-skins, lion-hides,[4] deer-hides, checkered foxskins,[5] martins, musk-skins[6] and other kinds [of furs]. The savages also sell to the Christians foodstuffs, such as Indian corn of all kinds, Turkish beans, deer, elk and bear meat, fresh fish of all kinds; also all kinds of birds, such as wild turkeys, wood-grouse, black-grouse, partridges, swans, geese, hazel-grouse, and pigeons, etc. [They also sell] all kinds of fruits, peaches or skinless apples, watermelons, chestnuts, walnuts, plums, bullace-plums, grapes and wild hops. [They] likewise [sell] what they produce by the work of their hands.

If one should buy the aforesaid articles from the savages with the cash money of the savages they are expensive enough, but when one pays for

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[1] The Indians. "Of their Bying and Selling," see Williams, *Key*, 133 ff.
[2] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII, note 5a.
[3] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII, note 5b.
[4] See above, Chapt. VIII, note 1.
[5] *Issprängde räffskinn.*
[6] See above, Chapt. VIII, note 6.

them with the merchandise of the Christians, one can make an excessively large gain and profit in trading with the savages. Now there is a value on the merchandise of the savages as follows: 1 beaver [skin] is valued according to size from 7 to 8 florins in sewan (thus the money of the savages is called, concerning the manufacture and nature of which money we shall be informed in the following chapter). But the trade with the money of the savages is mostly reckoned in Holland florins and *styvers,* 1 Holland florin being 20 *styvers.*

An otter [skin] is valued at 4 to 6 florins, according to the number of silver hairs it has. A lynx [skin is valued at] 4 florins; fisher, 24 *styvers;* raccoon, 1 florin; mink, 1 florin; wild-cat, 10 *styvers;* elk-skin, 6 to 9 florins; bear-hides, pitch black, looking like gluttons,[7] 3 to 4 florins; a wolf-skin, 2 to 3 florins; a wolf-lynx, 6 to 9 florins; a 36-checkered fox-skin, 1 florin; a lion-skin, 6 florins; deer-skin, 24 *styvers;* muskrat-skin, 1 florin, and so on. [A] quilt of Turkey feathers [is worth] 1 ell of white *sewan,* a quilt of painted feathers, 2 ells of white sewan, or 1 ell of blue *sewan.* Indeed the savages understand how to value their pelts, but the beavers and otters with silver hairs, that these should be so valuable, as compared to the others, that they have no knowledge of. Otherwise in the case of the elk-skins and other skins the savages indeed sell according to their sizes and heaviness, but they know nothing of weight.[8] This valuation is only an approxima-

[7] *Seendes uth som ierfwar,* the glutton, wolverine or carcajou.
[8] That is: they have no scales by which they can compute the exact weight of articles.

tion, but one gives more or less for the skins, according to their size or quality.

Maize, beans and fruits are sold by means of bags, nor [do they] know of any definite measure. But birds [they sell as follows]: a turkey, for 4 *styvers;* swan, for 6 *styvers;* goose, for 4 *styvers;* a wood-grouse, for 4 *styvers;* a black-grouse, for 2 *styvers;* a duck, for 2 *styvers;* a partridge, for 2 *styvers;* a hazel-grouse, for 1 *styver;* a pigeon, for 1 *styver, etc. Sic ulterius,* about. A mat [is sold for] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins; bags for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins, according to their size and quality, as well as according to their beauty and skill of workmanship.

But if these, often mentioned savage merchandise, are bought with the goods of the Christians, then these[9] are: red and blue Holland frieze an ell in breadth, guns, powder, lead, copper and brass kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads (of all colors, large and small), awls, bodkins, small common scissors, knives, small mirrors, needles and such things; and from these things, one can have a very large profit, as has been said, for our goods are placed high enough [in price] to the savages. But the savages really do not understand this trade, for they hold frieze in as high esteem as the finest scarlet.

The savage really does not buy more than an ell's length at the time, for he does not need more in the piece, which he wraps around himself. If it is a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness with, then he takes an ell for it, [and] they really do not

[9] The goods of the Christians.

know of any other measure than an ell's length at the time, for he needs no more in the piece he wraps around himself.

When the Christians measure the frieze for the savage, they measure it for the savage on the edge, the savage taking hold of a corner of the frieze and the Christians on the edge, whereupon they pull the hardest they are able, stretching thus the ell for the savage, so that he for three ells barely gets more than two; which the savage thinks should be thus, and does not understand himself cheated in this.

Tobacco is worth 2 *styvers* a pound.

Velvet, silk, broadcloth, apple juice[10] and all such things which one may want, come to New Sweden with ships from Virginia, New Holland, New England, the Carribean Islands, and from many other places; which merchandise the Swedes buy through the exchange of pelts and the money of the savages. Linen is very expensive there.[11]

The savages also allow themselves to be greatly cheated in the sale of powder. The savage knows of no other measure than the handful.[12] When the Christians measure the powder with the hand for the savage he draws his hand together that the savage hardly gets more than ½ handful for a whole, and thus the savage is cheated, for he has in this no better understanding.

Valuations of the merchandise of the Christians is as follows: an ell of frieze [is valued at] 9 florins, one handful of powder, 3 florins. According to this measurement and valuation, 1 ell of

[10] Apple Cider.
[11] As it was bought from the English and Dutch.
[12] *Ähn medh giöpen. Göpen*, handful, gripe, gowpen.

Holland frieze will cost the savage 1 *riksdaler* and 42 *öre* silver money and ½ handful of powder 1 *riksdaler* and 12 *öre* silver money, at 6 *daler* silver money apiece. One axe is worth 3 florins; a hoe, 3 florins; a pick, 3 florins; a shovel, 3 florins; a bodkin, 1 florin; a small common pair of scissors, 3 florins; a knife, 1 or 2 florins; a small mirror, which may cost 2 or 3 *öre* copper money in Stockholm, [sells for] 1 florin; 1 pin,[13] 1 florin; a common sewing needle, 1 florin; glass beads, [a string] 3 times around the arm, 1 florin, etc. The aforesaid small wares are placed high enough for the savage [in exchange] for his pelts, but if the trade is done in the money of the savages, then it will cost the Christians more.

Formerly it was indeed forbidden, and agreed[14] among the Christian nations, that no guns, powder or lead should be sold to the savages; but after the English in Virginia had broken the law and first begun to sell guns to the savages (which they have raised in value according to their quality, the cheapest [they sold] at 10 beaver [skins] and up to 20 beaver [skins] apiece for the dearest, so that one gun which is of some value, may cost the savages over 40, 50 and 60 *riksdaler,* at 6 *daler* silver money), therefore the Swedes began to sell powder and lead for them.[15] So much for the mutual trade of the Christians and the savages.

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[13] *En stammenâhl,* perhaps a large pin with a head (often of glass).

[14] *Forbudit och afsagt,* perhaps forbidden and renounced.

[15] For the guns. The settlers in the various colonies accused each other of selling firearms to the natives against the law of nations, but it was a case of the pot calling the pan black. They all sold what they could and made profits in any way they were able.

CHAPTER XXI.

Concerning the Nature of the Coins and Money of the Savage People, What They Are Made of and What They Are Worth.

The moneys of the savages are of three kinds of oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings, that they can be measured by fathoms according to their value and use.[1] The sewan of the Renappies, that is the money of our river savages, [is of 2 kinds]; one kind black-blue,[2] the other kind white. But the third kind, which comes from the Black and White Minquas,[3] is red. These red stones and the black-blue are valued in the place of gold; three of these stones are worth one *styver* or one *öre* silver money. But the white stones are counted as silver, and 6 pieces of them are worth one *styver* or 1 *öre* silver money.[4] In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker; but the largest, as thick as

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[1] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 904 ff.

[2] *Swartblåå*, black-blue, dark blue. "Their white they call *Wompam* (which signifies white): their black *Suckauhock* (*Sacki* signifying blacke)." Williams, *Key*, 130.

[3] See above, Chapt. V, note 40.

[4] "The Indians are ignorant of Europes Coyne; yet they have given a name to ours, and call it Moneash from the English money.

"Their owne is of two sorts; one white, which they make of the stem or stocke of the Periwincle, which they call, *Meteauhock*, when all the shell is broken off: and of this sort six of their small Beads (which they make with holes to string the bracelets) are currant with the English for a Peny.

"The second is black, inclining to blew, which is made of the shell of a fish, which some English call Hens, *Poquauhock*, and of this sort three make an English peny.

"They that live upon the Sea side generally make of it, and as many make as will." Williams, *Key*, 128.

a thick straw, and the length in proportion to their thickness; larger or smaller, they are not used. [They are] very smooth and even at the ends. There is also a streak on them like copper color, which the kernel by nature contains, from which the stones are made; namely of the kernel which runs whirl-like inside of the whooping cough bowls, which the wet nurses use to scrape off and give the little children for whooping cough, which is found in great abundance in New Sweden, both white, black and red.[5] Of this mentioned kernel the savages turn and grind these stones and money, and special savages are designated and appointed for this, who make this money, and one person is not able to make more than about 6 to 8 *styvers* a day.[6]

In valuing these moneys we also count an ell of red, black-blue sewan for 1 ducat and 1 ell of white sewan for one *riksdaler*. But otherwise they are mostly reckoned in Dutch florins and *styvers*, as stated above, one florin at 20 *styvers*.[7] These[8] moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass, cut and drilled through at their edges.[9] When the money through old use has been

[5] A nature medicine based on the superstitious belief that these scrapings will "cure the cough."

[6] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 905.

[7] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

[8] Lindeström has *hwilke*, which.

[9] *Uthi sijne kanter afskiärande och genomdrillande.* The passage is obscure. *Afskiärande* and *genomdrillande* are present participles and perhaps Lindeström means *af skärande och genom drillande*, in which case the passage would read: These moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass at the edges, through cutting and drilling.

In this connection Williams says: "Before they had awle blades from Europe, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stones." *Key*, 130.

29. *First row, top to bottom*—Crescent Shape Ceremonial Stone, Delaware Water Gap, Pa.; Banner Stone, without perforation, Bucks Co., Pa.; Banner Stone, incipient perforation, N. J.; Banner Stone, incipient perforation, Bucks Co., Pa. *Second row*—2 small perforated Stones, Bucks Co., Pa. *Third row, top to bottom*—Long pick-shaped Banner Stone, N. J.; Banner Stone, perforated, Phila. Co., Pa.; Banner Stone, perforated, Lancaster Co., Pa.; Banner Stone, Bucks Co., Pa.; 2 small Banner Stones, Bucks Co., Pa. *Fourth row*—Banner Stone fragments, Neshaminy Cr., Bucks Co., Pa. *Fifth row, top to bottom*—Unfinished Banner Stone, Bucks Co., Pa.; Large perforated Banner Stone (restored), Northampton Co., Pa.; Banner Stone, perforated, Lancaster Co., Pa.

worn at the edges, that they do not, like glass, fall close together[10] on the cord, then the savages will not accept them for good; wherefore he tests them thus, that he takes the whole cord on which the money is threaded and strokes them over his nose. If nothing obstructs the nose,[11] but glides over like smooth glass, then he accepts the money as good. But if something offers obstruction, he rejects them. Now all the money is not equally large and thick, but some larger and some smaller, and is, in buying, variously collected, especially when one exchanges and trades in *styver* quantities; wherefore the one who owns them must closely see to it, that in threading them again he arranges those [together] which are able to neatly and well correlate on the cord, in case he wants to get rid of them.[12]

When we want to count them by *styvers* by means of the thumb, which is indeed the manner of the savages, we have for this a certain measure from the end of the thumb nail to the first joint of the thumb. Thus the money is divided and separated according to this [method], that on this length go exactly 6 stones [of] white [sewan], that is as much as one *styver* or one *öre* silver money, and 6 stones [of] red or black-blue [sewan which], are worth 2 *styvers* or 2 *öre* silver money.

The money hanks the Christians carry in bags.[13] When he[14], wishes to trade and has counted the

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[10] *Falla tätt tillhopa.*

[11] *Tager då inthet emoth näsan.* The meaning is: if no obstruction is felt as the money passes over the nose, etc.

[12] In case he is to be able to use them in trading.

[13] *byxsäckier*, poke, pocket, bag.

[14] Lindeström uses the singular, *han.*

money off the string and then makes a knot on the string; the purse is thereby tied up.[15] Ducats and *riksdaler* are not valid among the savages,[16] but [are accepted] among the Christians and on the foreign merchant vessels.

The Hollander in this as well as in other [things] has shown his [desire of] profit and greediness, thinking that he would, through the money of the savages, acquire a large capital and riches, began to export the whooping-cough shell to Holland and had these monies made in the savage manner. Accordingly [a quantity valued at] a barrel of gold[17] was made of it, which they brought to the West Indies to trade with. When the savages examined these monies, they recognized that it was not their handiwork and would not accept and take them for good and valid. Thus the Hollanders have done all their work and labor in vain.

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[15] *Så är pennengepungen der medh igenknuten.* The idea seems to be this: when the Christian has counted a certain number of "stones" and removed them from the string to pay for certain articles, a knot is made on the string to keep the rest of the money from coming off,—the purse is thereby tied up. Lindeström considers the string as the purse, rather than the bag in which the money hanks are carried.

[16] Swedish money never became general among the Indians.

[17] *Tunna guld* (ton of gold), barrel of gold, was a definite measure of value, and was worth about $30,000 in our money of today. In Portuguese West Africa the natives speak of a sack of money (30 *Escudos*).

CHAPTER XXII

Concerning the Liberality, Confidence and Conversation and Intercourse With the Christians and How the Christians Are Received When They Visit the Savages.

The savages are honorable enough in their conversation with the Christians, after their manner. When they know that they have among them a *nittappi*[1] or a good friend who wishes them well, entertains him with food and drink, when he comes [to visit them], and also presents him with some little [thing], like an awl point, a mirror, glass beads and such things, which he recognizes as a great act of kindness.[2] When later the savage comes again to the Christian then he shows his generosity again in 20, 30 to 40 fold value in pelts and other things. Then the savage comes with it so proud and puffed up, throwing it on the floor before the Christian and puffs and blows, with it, as though he wanted to say: "Take this which I bring thee in good faith for the good thou hast done unto me." In such cases one must always have the table uncovered at the lower end, for when the savage comes to his good friend, where he knows he has his free condition,[3] he climbs up and seats himself with feet and everything on the

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[1] *Nittappi*, friend. A general Algonkian word, appearing in many forms, and still in use. Cf. *nitis*, friend, companion, Brinton, *Dict.*, 99.

[2] Lindeström's construction is poor but the meaning is clear. *And also presents him*, etc.; means of course, that the Nittappi or friend presents something to the Indian, such as a mirror, etc.

[3] Freedom of the place.

table and crosses his legs and requests then of the food on the table which he fancies. But when one gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

But when now the Christians come to the savages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Biörncister.*
[6] Food, *i.e.*, meat and fish.

the feeding and feasting of the horse, just as if it had consumed and eaten the same; otherwise they would kill the horse, thinking that it would scorn them; for they have no horses or cattle; wherefore the savages do not know their nature, but they think that they eat the same food as the people eat.[7]

And above all things we must extol and praise the savages, for the one by whom they are extolled and praised that one they consider their most faithful, good and best friend, but not having sense enough to consider, whether such [actions] come from the heart or not. They are also so simple, that they cannot simulate, nor do they know of any deceit, but do not imagine that anything could pass from a man's tongue, without coming from the heart.

The one who knows how to associate rightly with the savages [will find that they] are a trustworthy and good-hearted folk,[8] when they are not angered, and even brave-hearted [enough] to risk death for their good friends, to whom they have professed their friendship and faithfulness, as they did in the year 1655.[9] When the Hollanders surprised us Swedes in New Sweden with hostility, then our river savages showed their friendship and faithfulness towards us. Now this intention of the Hollanders was known to our river savages, wherefore they betook themselves (unknown to us) and went to Manhattan City, in New Holland, to exact revenge on our behalf, doing

[7] Lindeström had heard this from some colonist.
[8] *Ett troget och godh hiärtat folck.*
[9] See Johnson, *The Swedes in America*, I, 330–31.

great damage to the Hollander[s]. And the women, whom they succeeded in taking prisoners, they outraged. If the Hollanders in Manhattan City had not in a hurry sprung to arms and improved their fortifications, then the savages would have surprised them altogether and played master over the city. Which [fact] the Holland General Steyvesandt severely flung at us, saying that we had incited these tyrannical and heathenish enemies against them, which we did not even know had taken place, before it was related to us and thrown at us.[10]

From this as well as from more and other such [things], which space and time do not allow to expound, the faithfulness of the savages can be observed; but if they are angered then their loyalty is at an end, and revenge follows upon it.

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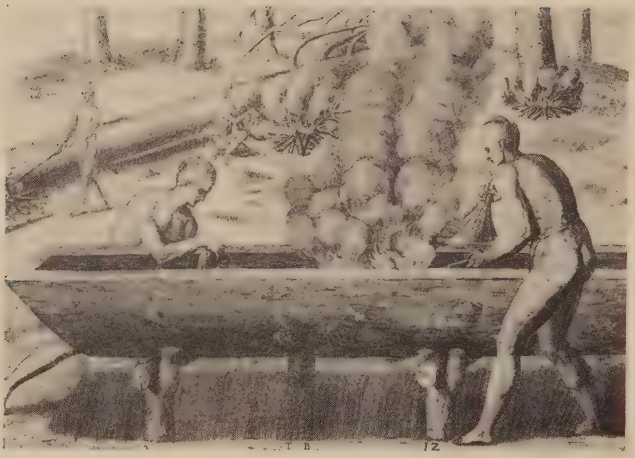
[10] Peter Stuyvesant accused the Swedes of stirring up the Indians against New Amsterdam.



30. "Hee continues burning and hewing until he hath . . . finished his Boate." See note 2, p. 237. The fire was intensified by a fan and clay was employed to give direction and limit to the burning, a rim of clay being placed around the edges to keep the fire from coming too near "the outher side."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Concerning the Navigation and Vessels of the American Savage People.

In this connection [it can be said] that they used no other vessels in the river than canoes. [These] are such as our punts in Sweden,[1] large and small.[2] But when they want [to go] a distance over the sea, as for instance to Virginia or New Holland, then they fasten two punts together broadwise[3] with timbers over them, right strongly put together, the deck made completely tight and side boards of planks; sails of rugs and frieze joined together;[4] ropes and tackle made of bast

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[1] *Öökestockar*, wooden canoes, not unlike those of the Indians, were used in Scandinavia in olden times. The Indian canoe in the East was made of "one log" or of bark. The log canoes, often made of a species of poplar, were sometimes very large (see note 2, below). De Vries had a canoe which could carry 225 bushels of maize. Cf. *Doc.*, I, 276; De Vries, Van der Donck; *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269; III, 26–7, 94–5, etc. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 20

[2] "*Mishoon*, an Indian Boat, or Canow made of a Pine or Oake, or Chestnut-tree: I have seene a Native goe into the woods with his hatchet carrying onely a Basket of Corne with him, and stones to strike fire when he had felled his tree (being a Chesnut) he made him a little House or shed of the bark of it, he puts fire and followes the burning of it with fire, in the midst of many places: his corne he boyles and hath the Brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish: but so hee continues burning and hewing untill he hath within ten or twelve dayes (lying there at his worke alone) finished, and (getting hands), lanched his Boate; with which afterwards hee ventures out to fish in the Ocean."

Mishoonemese, A little Canow.

"Some of them will not well carry above three or foure: but some of them twenty, thirty, forty men." Williams, *Key* 98.

[3] *På bredden.*

[4] "Their owne reason hath taught them to pull off a Coat or two and set it up on a small pole, with which they will saile before a wind ten, or twenty mile, &c." Williams, *Key*, 99.

and slender spruce roots; [and they] also mason for themselves a little fireplace on deck, where they can thus make a fire, when necessary. These miserable vessels look like large sloops[5] in the sea, and thus they scrape themselves along with these [ships] the best they can. Compasses or other instruments of navigation they have no knowledge of how to use, to direct their course. But they find their way through experience, which is very risky and perilous. Although their journey over the sea cannot be very long, it may nevertheless be subjected to many misfortunes and accidents, with such miserable vessels.

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[5] *Skutor*, gabbards, sloops, flatboats.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Concerning the Ailments, Wonderful Medicines, Tyranny, Blood-Letting and Patience of the American Indians.

These savages are by nature a healthy people and are rarely subjected to diseases, before death surprises them, or if it may happen that some contagious disease should come into the country, through which whole nations could die out, as has happened formerly among them here.

The French disease[1] sometimes indeed rages among the savages, because they live in such unchastity and adultery, like irrational brutes; but against this they have a white kind of ointment, and cure themselves, after which it goes its way, as though it were wiped away by the hand.

Whoever is wounded by the poisonous rattlesnake and is not cured and treated by the medical doctor of the savages, who is called the devil-chaser,[2] then there is no hope for the life of that patient any more, but he must die; for the savages have such splendid medicine against it,[3] that they immediately drive away the poison with it and cure it. For this purpose they use a kind of grass

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[1] *Morbus fransman.* Cf. Williams, *Key*, 158. See also *London Chronicle*, Oct. 6, 1757; Peter Kalm, *Journal; Mss. 1412 Yi, Ridgway Library.* For their remedies, see further Van der Donck, De Vries, *Vertoogh*, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 156; II, 269, etc.; Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 224 ff.; Speck, *Med. Prac. of the North. Algon., Proceed.* of the *Nine. Int. Cong.* of *Ame.* (1917), 303 ff. They even understood the value of mineral water.

[2] *Dyfweliagaren.*

[3] That is: the poison of the rattle snake.

roots, which are called snakegrass-roots. These roots grow very much intertwined, like a very fine and close comb. These they chew to pieces and place them with sober spittle[4] on the sore and the bite, which has such a power by its application, as has been stated. But 2 or 3 of the Swedes there in the country, as I know, were wounded by these snakes. They immediately swelled up terribly and were dead within an hour, for they lacked these medicines.

These snakes are spotted, yellow and black, and on the tail they have horn-joints, one joint for each year, according to his age.[5] [They] have scent of a human being far away, [and when the snake scents a person] then he puts his tail in the air to shake and agitate, so that it is heard far away from him, with a sound like children's rattles with pease in them, yet very loud, so that a person can through this guard himself against it. Concerning this I have formerly discussed it somewhat in the chapter concerning the childbirth of the savage women and [stated] that the skin of this rattlesnake is found to be very splendid for pregnant women, that when they tie this around themselves, then they are immediately relieved of their severe childbirth.[6]

Concerning this, as well as many other innumerable[7] [things] one may well marvel at the splendid and miraculous medicines of the savages; so that if it is not a fatal disease, they know a

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[4] *Nychter spått.* Perhaps fresh rather than sober saliva.
[5] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII.
[6] See above, Chapts. VIII, X, note 5. Cf. Williams, *Key*, 125 ff.
[7] *Orecitterligit*, unrecitable.

remedy for it immediately, which they keep very secret from the Christians. "*Sed contra vim mortis, non est medicamen in hortis.*[8]

In this connection I also want to mention briefly what happened among the Black Minquas further in the [interior of the] country, with 15 individual Englishmen whom they had taken prisoners; from which one can learn of the horrible cruelty of the Minquas. It happened that the English of Virginia carried on war against these Minquas. When the English now came to these savages, marching 2 or 3 hundred men strong, with a few [small] field cannon,[9] they pitched their camp a short distance from the dwellings of the abovementioned savages. But these savages are somewhat cleverer in building, than our own river Indians who live closer to us, using palisades around their dwellings. Therefore the English did not run, precipitously upon them, but first fired a few cannon [balls against their fort]. Then the English did not know a word about it, before the savages had surrounded[10] the English, were in their rear and drove them into flight, killing some of them and brought home with them 15 prisoners, whom they later, after the lapse of a few days, martyred to death wretchedly and unchristianlike. Because some of these prisoners were of noble birth and of some importance and value, the English offered for each one of them a few 100 florins

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[8] For against the power of death, there is no medicine in gardens.

[9] *Feldtslangor.*

[10] *Hade the engelske berändt.* Beränna usually means to surround, to invest, but here it perhaps means to go around, so as to get to the rear of the enemy.

for ransom; but the savages did not care for ransom or a sum of money, but seemed to be more anxious to exact their revenge and satisfy their anger on these poor prisoners. They therefore erected a high platform, placing large piles of bark below it, upon which they poured all kinds of pitch, bear-fat, *et talia,* etc. Through this they wanted to indicate that whatsoever kind of drink the English wanted to pour out for them, that they themselves would now have to imbibe.[11] They also erected a post in the earth for each prisoner, around which they also placed piles of bark and poured fat thereupon, just as has been stated before. Then they took the prisoners out to undergo their punishment. They first brought them up on the high framework, who[12] were bound around their waists with long slender iron chains; then they put fire to the bark, lying below, and later, shoved one prisoner after the other down into the fire, which burnt with terrible violence. When they had been tormented somewhat in this fire, then the savages pulled them out of it.

Then they bound the said prisoners to the above-mentioned poles, put fire also to that bark in which they had to dance, until they were practically half roasted. Nor did they want that any of them should lose his life in the fire, because they wanted to inflict upon them as much suffering as possible; wherefore they pulled the prisoners out again, placing them in front of themselves. Then they

[11] My copy has *inskränkia,* but this must be a mistake for *inskiänkia.* The idea is: the kind of tortures the English had prepared for the Indians in case of victory they would now have to undergo themselves.

[12] The order is Lindeström's; *who* of course refers to them.

brought forth their doctor of medicine, whom they otherwise called the devil-chaser (why he has this name we will learn to know in the next following chapter). He took his knife and cut each one of the prisoners right over the forehead from one ear to the other, then he took the skin and pulled it backward on the neck or the throat, then he cut the tongue out of the mouths of all the prisoners. On one of them he wanted to prove his mastery and cure him again, if there was any one of them who wanted to live, and then that one would escape further punishment, which his other comrades still would have to stand, but there was no one of them who wanted to live. Then the devil-chaser cut all the fingers off the prisoners and threaded them upon a string, which he delivered to their sachem or ruler, who tied them around his neck. When this was done the devil-chaser cut all their toes off, which he also delivered to their sachem. These he tied around his legs at the knees. The sachem carried them on his body until the flesh rotted away, but when the flesh had rotted off and dried away, he scrapes[13] the bones clean and white, when he threads them anew upon a ribbon and carries them afterwards continually on his body, to show his great courage,—the greater skeleton bones these Minqua sachems carry, the braver warriors they are supposed to be. Then they brought forth fifteen bundles of reeds, like reeds here in Sweden, which were saturated in fat. Of these they bound a bundle on the back of each prisoner, turned them towards Virginia, set fire

[13] Lindeström mixes his tenses; *baar . . . skaffwer*, carried . . . scrapes.

to the bundles and told them to run home again, where they had come from, and relate to their countrymen, how well they had been treated and entertained among the Black Minquas. They also sent good guides with them, whom the boys followed with a great noise,[14] shot at them with their quarrels until the one fell here and the other there. Such a miserable departure and end these poor people had, from which we can observe the awful cruelty of the Minquas. These Minquas are of two kinds, Black and White Minquas.[15]

Besides I further want to relate about the bloodletting of the savages and their wonderful medicines, which I have seen at least a hundred times among these savages. When the savage undertake to march a long journey, the first day he has marched, in the evening, when he strikes camp, he makes up a fire, takes a piece of flint as long as a finger which he has prepared and fitted for this purpose, sharp as a razor, with this he cuts himself all over his body into the deepest flesh, on his arms, thighs and legs, the depth of a finger, according to the depth of the flesh, deeper or less, standing then before the fire to shake off the blood, which runs off him, as if one had butchered an ox. When he now has allowed as much blood to run off as he thinks proper, then he takes a kind of ointment, which he smears over his body, wherever he has cut himself. Before morning, it is healed and run together, and blue streaks remain after it just as when one burns oneself with

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[14] *Poickarne medh stoort anskry efterfölgde.*
[15] An atrocity story Lindeström had heard from the English.

powder,[16] wherefore the savages appear entirely striped and streaky[17] and especially the Minquas. This is now [something about] the blood letting and cutting of the savages, from which one can observe that they are patient and not tender-skinned. When now the savage has thus removed some blood, he may march and run as fast and as far as he wants to, he will not tire. This is a brief description of the wonderful medicines, blood letting, cruelty and patience of the Indians, because we must avoid details.

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[16] *När en bränner sigh medh kruth.*

[17] *Renotte,* mod. Swed. *randig* (cf. ränna), striped or streaky. Lindeström's description is exaggerated. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations,* 225–6.

31. "The savages appear entirely striped and streaked." See p. 245. From De Bry, *Voyages.*

32. Religious celebration. See p. 215. From De Bry, *Voyages.*

CHAPTER XXV.

Concerning the Devil-Chasing of the American Savage People and the Doctors of Medicine Who Are Called Devil-Chasers.

When the savage sickens and death attacks him he does not believe in any death and resurrection, but that *Manitto,* that is the Devil, is plaguing him;[1] for he knows indeed that the evil one exists,[2] who sends him all evil things; but he will not believe that any good God exists, who gives him both temporal and eternal good. Therefore the savages sacrifice and prepare feasts for the Devil in order to propitiate him that he should do them no harm; this the savages do in their hunting expeditions about which we have related before, and all other things which take place according to their plans.[3]

Now when the savage is tormented on his deathbed, he calls for the doctor of medicine, who is otherwise called the devil-chaser. Then he first makes use of all kinds of medicines and when he finds that they do not help, he pretends to be worse than the Devil himself, intending thus to chase the evil one out of body of the savage, wherefore he is called the devil-chaser. Runs back and forth,

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[1] The construction is loose. The idea is: The Indian does not believe that God calls him to his death for a later resurrection, but that a fetish or some unseen power, probably in the service of an enemy, is plaguing him and will eventually cause his death.

[2] *Ty det weet han wäll, att tala om den ondha wara till,* for he indeed knows to till [that] the evil one exists.

[3] See above, Chapts. XV, XVII.

cries so that it is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall[4] all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience, both thinking that the worse the devil-chaser acts, the sooner the Devil will depart. But it is to be feared that his art and labor are in vain, although his medicines are very wonderful, neither they nor the devil-chaser's devil-chasing are undoubtedly able to further help or be of avail in that case. And now when the savage has died then they set themselves down to bawl and howl, weep and lament over their good comrade's deathly departure. But the devil-chaser sits there so terrible and mourns over the fact that the Devil came to be his superior.

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[4] *Bastionerar den siuka*, bastionates the sick person, *i.e.*, builds a bastion around him. "In sicknesse the Priest comes close to the sick person, and performes many strange Actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sicknesse." Williams, *Key*, 112.

CHAPTER XXVI.

How the American and Savage People Treat and Act Towards the Dead Body and How Their Burials Are Celebrated.

Now when the savage is dead, then an Indian is sent out around the country, crying, calling and lamenting, who runs around everywhere and makes this known to the good friends of the dead savage. Then those to whom he makes it known must have compassion with him and present him with something for his trouble. A few days afterwards he is buried, and then a round deep pit[1] is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit.[2] Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed,[3] and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[4] Afterwards they throw earth upon him and fill up the hole. When

[1] *En trinn, diup groop.* Cf. Williams, *Key,* 160 ff. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.,* 2, I, 202; III, 95, etc.

[2] *En stool (stol),* chair, stool, here perhaps a round "log-stool," possibly eight or ten inches high.

[3] This would presuppose a very transparent material. Lindeström of course does not mean that the pipe in the grave was lighted, but that when a pipe was smoked, it could be seen how the tobacco was consumed.

[4] That is, the pipe stem was put into the dead man's mouth.

this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[5] Then those who have been the dead man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When now the savage is thus buried the savages do not wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[5] *Som buldaner hängiandes. Buldan* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means strips or fringes.

33. *Upper row, left to right*—2 Small Net Sinkers (?), Bucks Co., Pa.; Large Net Sinker (?) with hole, Camden, N. J.; two notched Slate Discs (sinkers (?)), Martins Creek, Northampton Co., Pa. *Lower row, left to right*—Small Paint Pestle with mortar above it (between the two rows), N. J.; Knife, Lancaster Co., Pa.; Blade or Knife, Bucks Co., Pa.; Hoe, Bucks Co., Pa.; Hoe (edge chipped off), N. J.

happen to do this,[6] who does not know of their manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear it mentioned.[7]

During these their burials there is often robbery committed by some of the Christians. Some scoundrels go to the savages and help them to mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad, lamenting and weeping much worse and more miserably than the savages, saying that the [deceased] also had been their good friend, which the savages think is well, that they get company. These scoundrels watching their time, in the night when the savages sleep, steal away their money chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater.

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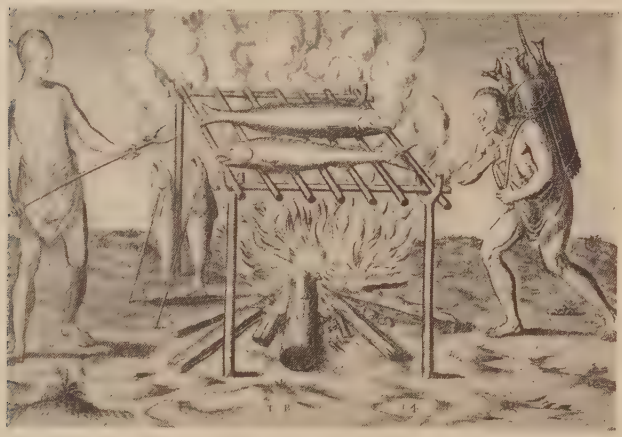
[6] See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

[7] "Which bewailing is very solemne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, *Key*, 54.

34. "There is no scarcity of provisions among the savages." See pp. 253–5.



35. "They pass . . . slender spits of wood through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or fish near the fire." See p. 254.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Thrashing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there* is found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1½ ells from

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[1] *Godha rätter.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 263 ff.; III, 95, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarnar bruka the inthet.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 130.

the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

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[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

a full [supply] of copper and brass kettles for the purpose, large and small, which the savages buy from the Christians, hanging on a pole[8] along their hut or house from the one door to the other, below which the fire is made up, as has been stated before. And the savage woman whom the sachem owns for a wife, she is the housekeeper for the whole crowd. She selects for the cooking and determines which one of the savage women then and then,[9] each in her turn, shall look after the cooking. When now they think that the food is cooked, which indeed they use half cooked, then the kettles are carried forth to the housekeeper who pours out the food and divides it around for the people, 6 and 6 to a kettle. The vessels used for this purpose are small copper and brass kettles and cut-off calibashes like cups.[10]

As far as their drink is concerned [it may be said] that they drink with the goose.[11]

But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they also do it with hot embers in the fireplace. They make and knead the whole dough into one loaf, as wide as the bottom of the oven, raised like a loaf of rye bread. Then they sweep the fireplace clean and lay a couple of layers of large leaves next to the stones upon which they place the bread, then some layers [of leaves] on top and around the bread, and then

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[8] *Hängandes på en åhs.* *Ås* in this connection would usually mean the ridge (ridge-pole) of a house, but Lindeström apparently uses the word in the sense of a pole.

[9] *Då och då, i.e.,* from time to time.

[10] See above, Chapt. VII, note 13. It seems strange that Lindeström does not mention clay pots.

[11] See above, p. 234, note 4.

placing all the embers upon it, which thus stands for the space of a few hours to bake through. When they suppose that it is well baked, they sweep off the ashes carefully, take up the bread and tear off the leaves, then the bread looks brown on the outside like a pancake, but inside it is white as milk and such a natural bread that a finer and more natural one cannot be put between the teeth.[12]

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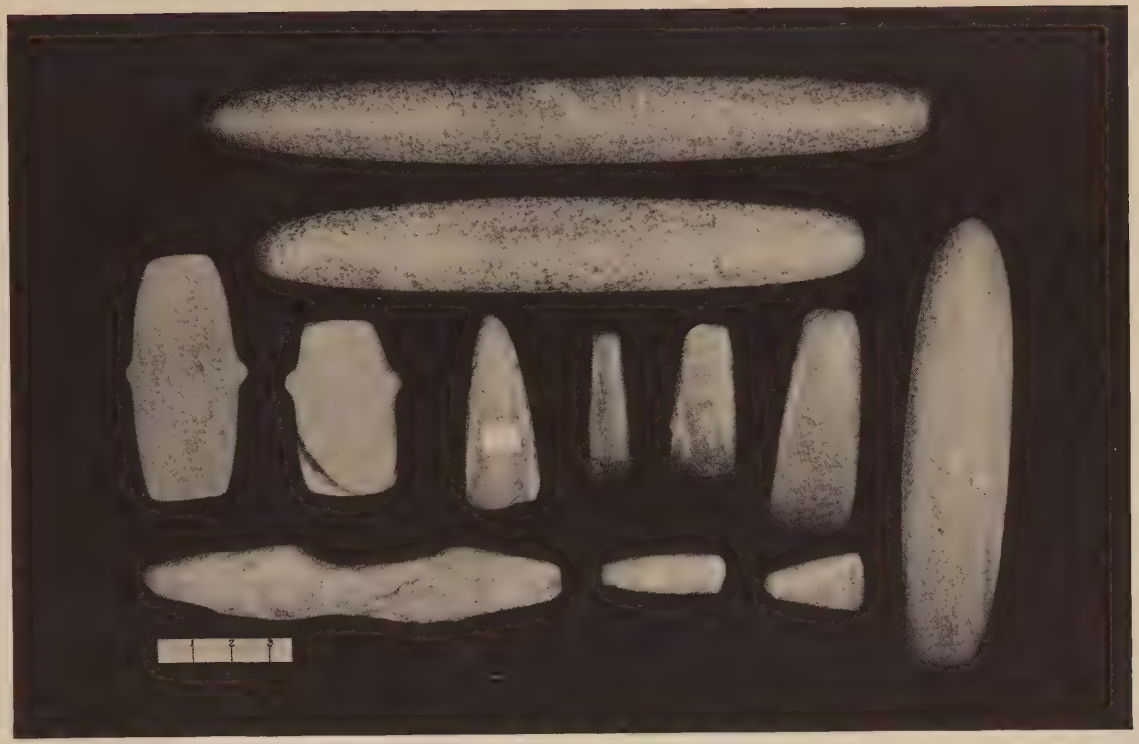
[12] *Att det kan icke skiönare och naturligare läggias under tändher.* The meaning is, it is as fine as any bread we can wish for.



36. *Two upper objects*—1. Pestle, Burlington Island, N. J.; 2. Pestle. Bucks Co., Pa. *Row below pestles*—Celt, Playwicky Indian Town, Bucks Co., Pa.; Celt. Bucks Co., Pa.; Gouge, N. J.; 3 Celts, Bucks Co., Pa.; Large Celt, Burlington, Co., N. J. *Bottom row, left to right*—Implement probably used in skinning large animals, Bucks Co., Pa.; 2 Small Celts, Bucks Co., Pa.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Concerning the Vapor Baths of the American Savage People.

The bathhouse of the savages is made of stone and clay and arched like a bake oven with a hole above, large enough to crawl through.[1] [For bathing] they make a large pile of stones red hot, which they place in the centre of the bath house, and the bath house is [made] so large that they can lie lengthwise around the hot stone pile. When they now want to bathe, as many as can get room at a time will crawl in and then they stop up the hole well with frieze cloth. Then the savages within the bath house begin to pour water upon the stones, accompanying this with an unspeakable crying and noise, that one may really be fearful of it, each one imitating the animal from which his *Pååhra* or idol has been taken, upon which they believe, the one [crying] like a lion, the one

[1] "This Hot-house is a kind of little Cell, six or eight foot over, round, made on the side of a hill (commonly by some Rivulet or Brooke) into this frequently the Men enter after they have exceedingly heated it with store of wood, laid upon an heape of stones in the middle. When they have taken out the fire, the stones keepe still a great heat: Ten, twelve, twenty more or lesse, enter at once starke naked, leaving their Coats, small breeches, (or aprons) at the doore, with one to keepe all: here doe they sit round these hot stones an houre or more, taking tobacco, discoursing and sweating together, which sweating they use for two ends: First, to cleanse their skin: Secondly, to purge their bodies, which doubtlesse is a great meanes of preserving them, and recovering them from diseases, especially from the French disease, which by sweating and some potions, they perfectly and speedily cure: when they came forth (which is matter of admiration) I have seen them runne (Summer and Winter) into the brookes to coole them, without the least hurt." Williams, *Key*, 158; cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, 660 ff.; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 357 ff.

like a bear, another like a bull,[2] a third like a wild boar, wolf, dog, goose, rooster,[3] etc. And when they now have finished bathing, and are not able to endure any more heat, then they crawl out of the bath house one after another, and run towards the stream into the cold water, being as agile to swim in the water as a goose. Then another crowd crawls into the bath house and makes the same noise, until each one has had his turn.[4]

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[2] *Den som en tiur*, that one like a bull.

[3] *Wargh, hundh, gåås, tupp.*

[4] *Till thes hwarffwet är omgånget.* The description of Lindeström refers to the ceremonial vapor bath. He seems to have been unfamiliar with the vapor bath for medicinal purposes. Heckewelder says: "In those [complaints] which proceed from rheumatic affections bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied." *Indian Nations*, 225.

The Indian word for the bath-house was *pihmoakan* (German orth.), from root *pihm* (pēm), to sweat, hence sweat house. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 115–16; also Montanus, *Beschr.*, etc. (Amsterdam, 1671).

The employment of heat in the form of hot water or vapor to counteract certain disorders or cure various diseases is apparently common among all peoples that have reached a certain stage of development. In Central West Africa I found the practice among several tribes. (See my forthcoming book, *The Ethnography of Certain Bantu Tribes, etc.*)

It is interesting to note in this connection, that modern science is giving increased attention to the thermogenic reaction of the body against infectional diseases, and the application of heat to certain parts of the body, externally and internally, as a means of counteracting disorders or removing parasites lodged in the small or large intestine. Dr. D. Rivas, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has developed a new treatment for tape worm, dysentery, etc., based on a novel application of the principles of thermotherapy, has effected some remarkable cures without medicine of amebic dysentery and the removal of hook worms and the entire tape worm, head and all. Cf. Rivas, *The Thermogenic Reaction*, etc., The New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol. 69, No. 2; *The Effect of Temperature on Protozoan and Metazoan Parasites and the Devise of a New Procedure—the "Hydro-Thermic Method"—for the Treatment of Parasitic and other Affections of the Intestine.* (In print.)

37. *Left to right*– Large Axe, Fairmount Park, Phila.; Axe, Playwicky, Indian Town, Bucks Co., Pa.; Axe, Kingsessing, Phila.; Adze, Assiscunk Creek, N. J.; Axe, Prospertown, N. J. *Lower row* Small Axe, Bucks Co., Pa.; Axe, N. J.; Double Groove Axe, Playwicky, Indian Town.

[In Collections of Colonel Henry D. Paxson, Philadelphia, Pa.]

CHAPTER XXIX.

Concerning the Siege of New Sweden by the Hollanders.

In the year 1655, the 30 of August,[1] General Stijfvesandh came with an army of 1,500 men[2] strong, a rash people, to New Sweden to afflict us Swedes, with hostility; with two large men-of-war, the one was the admiral ship *Amsterdamwag,* the other ship *Spegel,* by name, 2 small ships, 2 buoy vessels and a sloop, which cast anchor and took up their position for the night near Fort Elfsborg, where they blockaded, shot and thundered the whole night. The same night the weather was dark and they landed at the Sandhook, with a yacht, a number of armed people, where they took some of the freemen prisoners, from whom they obtained certain information.

On the 31st of August General Stijfvesandh sailed with his fleet and army, amidst the beating of drums and blowing of trumpets and a great bravado, passed Fort Trinity and cast anchor right above the forts, near Strand Point—Commandant Sven Schüte allowed them to pass by harmless, without firing a shot. As soon as the enemy had landed he began to work on the entrenchments and called on the fort to surrender through a lieutenant. Lieutenant Elias Gyllen-

[1] For an account of the following, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 591 ff.

[2] Greatly exaggerated, see Johnson, *The Swedes in America,* I, 311; 313–14, notes.

gren was ordered to meet him and answered him that these were impossible pretensions and that such was not in our power to do, but if they had any hostility to seek with us then we were at liberty to defend and resist to the last.

On the 1st of September the Fort was summoned to surrender a second time through a lieutenant-colonel, whom I, Per Lindheström, was ordered to meet. "Good morning, brother," said the lieutenant-colonel to me, "Have you slept sufficiently?" "Well, it is time for that," said I. "Well, brother," said he, "I come now indeed on the same business which one of our officers presented to you yesterday, on behalf of our General and Governor, that if you now wish to give up the Fort in peace, no harm shall happen to you, but you shall enjoy besides, the good condition to be allowed to march out with flying banners, full arms, burning fuses, bullet in your mouth and more similar things." Then I asked him what we had committed or done against them and their nation, because we were not allowed to enjoy peace with them, but that they wished to attack us with hostility. Then he said: "Is that so strange to you, brother, that you do not know that we have a goose unpicked with you, in that you last year when you arrived here, drove away and chased off our nationals from this fort, which was then called Fort Cassimir, and all our colonists living around there? Therefore we have now come again here to revenge the same and not only to drive you out of this fort, but your whole nation, which is found here in the country, for a recompense and a memorial." I answered [him]: "This land did

not belong to the Hollander[s] nor have [they] any title of possession to it, but the Swedes have a proper title of possession to it, in that they have bought it from the savages, which can be proved by many of the letters of the savages, and when the Hollanders settled at this place, they tore down the pole of our most gracious King, therefore we have power to drive them out, because they wanted to acquire that which belongs to us, and in this no injustice was caused the Hollanders. But the greatest injustice happens to us, in that you wish to visit us with hostility, without all cause and reason. Or perhaps you have the belief that there is no God in existence, who sees and will punish such [injustice]." "Well, the day is passing," said he, "no dispute will give us satisfaction in this affair, but answer me this immediately, which I have asked you, if you now wish to surrender the Fort with peace, without any further dilly dally; and if you will not, then we shall storm it today and then I shall assure you, we shall not spare the child in the cradle for you." Then I answered: "It is in vain that you ask further about this, but you will be welcome, when you come; we will not surrender to the last man, or as long as there is a warm drop of blood in us." "That is right, brother," answered he, "conduct yourselves well; before we go to sleep, and [even if] the Fort should hang above the treetops, it shall belong to us." "You may try that," I answered, "[and] with this goodbye." "Listen, hallo, brother," said he. "Darn it![3] It is now so late in the day

[3] *Gudz fempton,* God's fifteen. An expression corresponding to damn it; hang it all, etc. Cp. the Swedish *tusan!* (thousand).

and I have not received any food or brandy as yet today. Do you dare to invite me into the Fort for a drink of brandy, or some food and drink? I believe you are so poor, you poor wretches, although you brag greatly, and make big spikes from little iron, and if you have not got it, you may know that I have [it]. Come with me." "No," answered I, "we are nearer to Fort Trinity. Come on with me; indeed I have enough to fill your stomach with." "I little believe that," answered he. When he had come to the Fort I said to him: "Well, brother, lend me your arm scarf, you will get in." I then took his and my arm scarf and tied them over his eyes as well as [over] the eyes of the drummer, so that they could not see [anything]. "I do not suppose that you make a devil of yourself, brother." "There is no danger,"[4] answered I. With that I asked our people to open the gate and hence, led them into the house. When they had come in, I loosened [the scarves] from their eyes. "You are a brave fellow," said the lieutenant-colonel, "who can take the sight away from one and give it back again." Then we treated them to brandy and bread, so that they finally got into a good humour.[5] When they had said farewell to us, I again tied up their eyes, led them out and left them outside of the fort, where they untied [the scarves] themselves and went their way. Then the lieutenant-colonel cried out: "Farewell, brother engineer, have thanks for good treatment,

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[4] *Det haar ingen nödh.*

[5] *Sijdlychtonne fingo ett gott habemus.* It really means that they finally got a good spree, but that was not the case as can be seen from what follows.

I see you really have brandy, which I did not believe."

On the same day in the forenoon at 11 o'clock the messengers of General Stijfvesandh came again to demand the surrender of the fort. Then it was impossible to restrain our Commandant Sven Schüte by either council or deed from meeting the messengers of the enemy, which was in poor taste for him, thinking that he could do that affair better himself than any of us. Now when we saw that he was so foolish and obstinate, we let him have his will, and requested him to do, what he himself would have to answer for. "Yes, indeed," he answered, and thus he marched away. But I thought that it would pass as honorably as it finally did. When he came to the messengers of the enemy he indeed spoke with them about what kind of villainous plottings they were up to, but later he followed them to the camp of the enemy, where General Stijfvesandh met him, before whom Commandant Sven Schüte fell upon his knees and begged for pardon, which we clearly could see with telescopes.[6] Then he followed General Stijfvesandh into the tent.

When we now saw how shamefully things were conducted and how he acted, that he had bitten the head off shame, then said Lieutenant Gyllengren to me: "Well brother, Lindheström, now our commandant has made a scoundrel of himself completely, what are we now to do, to retain our honor? Even if he makes an accord with the enemy 10 times over, it is up to us to let him in,

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[6] *Medh perspectiv.*

if we want to. It seems to me that we should defend ourselves, the best we know how and the best we are able, against the enemy. And there is not much for us to do, although our commandant has done evil things." Said I: "If you brother Gyllengren want to do the same as I, then we shall with skill and with haste fortify ourselves within, so that even if the enemy should storm and get over the wall and think that he had won the fray thereby, yet he would not praise the market-place,[7] when he got into the fort, for on the side upon which the enemy has now pitched his camp he undoubtedly will storm the fort, also because on that side the walls are lowest and weakest, thus we have the other side free and reserved for ourselves to drive him back and interfere with him." "Yes," answered Gyllengren, "how may that come about?" "Yes," said I, "that can indeed be done. First of all we shall take up a barrel of ale and give the people for refreshment. Then they will work with all the greater diligence and better courage and what is to be done must be done soon, as we do not know how long a time we are secure, before the arrival of the enemy. Thus we will dig ourselves down in both batteries on the other side and plant shrapnel cannon around us."[8] "That is good advice," answered Gyllengren, "that we shall do." Thereupon the materials were brought forth and the labor was begun with diligence. When the clock was 2 in the afternoon, Holland salute was given in their camp, and im-

[7] That is: he would have to pay dearly for his success, even after he had gained an entrance to the Fort.

[8] *Skrâstycken.*

mediately thereafter, all the cannon in the camp were discharged and the rounds on the ship, from which it was easy to understand that an accord has been made with our commandant. But about 4 o'clock, when our labor was mostly finished, the Hollanders came marching and our commandant going foremost in front of them all, dragging the enemy on his neck after himself to the fort. Intending to prevent such [an affair], we desired to let loose on the enemy. When now those of us who were officers admonished our people to stand [firm], then they made themselves rebellious and jumped over the walls to the enemy, which caused us to wound and shoot down some of our own people as they fled. Thus we had nothing for our work, which we had laid down that day, nor were we officers alone able to do any more in this affair, because we were now surrounded by enemies within and without, wherefore we were compelled to give up and let the enemy in.[9]

When now the enemy had marched in, occupied the posts, and hauled down our flag and hoisted their own flag in its place, Holland salute was given on Fort Trinity, which was answered in the camp and on the ships. Thereupon the whole battery was discharged upon Fort Trinity and the outer ramparts, this was again answered by all the cannon in the camp and on the ships to announce that the fort was brought into the hands of the Hollanders. When now our commandant was to march out with his people, as he supposed, according to the signed articles of capitulation

[9] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 599 ff.

with General Stijfvesandh, [he] marched thus with flying banners, burning fuses, loaded guns, beating drums and pipes and bullet in the mouth and such things. Now when he arrived outside of the fort, where General Stijfvesandh stood before him, General Stijfvesandh asked him: "Where have you indeed now, commandant, intended to go with your people, if you are allowed to choose?" He answered: "To Director Rijsingh, at Fort Christina, according to the terms of our contract." General Stijfvesandh answered him: "Then you have not looked clearly at the words. I have indeed promised you to march out of the Fort with your people, as you now have done, but you will not find it stated in the agreement whither. Wherefore [you] remain here, where I want you." There he stood and was ashamed of his agreement, all smiling and in addition, making fun of him.[10] "Yes, you will indeed be welcome to the Director at Fort Christina, when you come," said I. "How is that?" said General Stijfvesandh. "We will see how bravely he will hold out, for tomorrow, if God will, I shall visit him." "I assure the General that it will probably be hot before Christina," said I. "For a piece of buttered bread you won't get in there, as you have done here." "Like men," said the General. "Is Rijsingh so angry? He does right in that." Thereupon he called for the colonel, who was a Dane, asking, where is this people to be lodged? "The officers are to be put into arrest in the Fort," he answered, "and the common soldiers are to be brought onto the

[10] Lindeström presents Skute in a false light, see *ibid.*, II, 601, note 65; Johnson, *The Swedes in America*, I, 316, note.

ships." Then our musketeers were sent onto the ships and we who were officers were taken into arrest with two musketeers each as guard and [were] directed to march into the Fort, to converse there with their officers and be introduced to them.

Thereupon we went into the Fortress. A house was then prepared for us, where we should be by ourselves, until further orders.

In the evening we were treated at General Stijfvesandh's own table, very splendidly and well, two musketeers with their guns and burning fuses, standing back of each one of us; and continuously, while we were kept in arrest, we had nothing to complain about, that we were not richly provided and supplied with good food and drink.

During the siege our officers made fun of our commander, but after the siege was over not even a common soldier would drink out of the same cup with him, but [he] was considered by every man as a shoe rag.[11]

The 2nd of September the enemy surrounded and besieged Fort Christina. On the same day the enemy pillaged Tenna Konck or Printzhoff. On the same day the village of Christinehambn in New Sweden was ruined and burnt to the ground. The same day our soldiers who were at Fort Trinity took the oath of allegiance to the Hollanders.

The 6th of September the enemy demanded the surrender of Fort Christina, when Lieutenant

[11] That is: of no consequence.

Sven Höök was ordered by Director Rijsingh to answer; and what he might have said to offend the Holland nation is not possible to know, but he was captured and brought on board the ship *Amsterdamwag* and placed in heavy chains.

The 8th of September the surrender of Fort Christina was again demanded, when the factor Mr. Hendrick Elzwich was ordered to meet the messengers of the enemy and answer [them].

Explanation of the accompanying map and drawings, how Fort Christina was besieged by the enemy, namely [through]:

The Admiral ship *Amsterdam Wag.* Lit. A.

The *Spegell* ship. Lit. B.

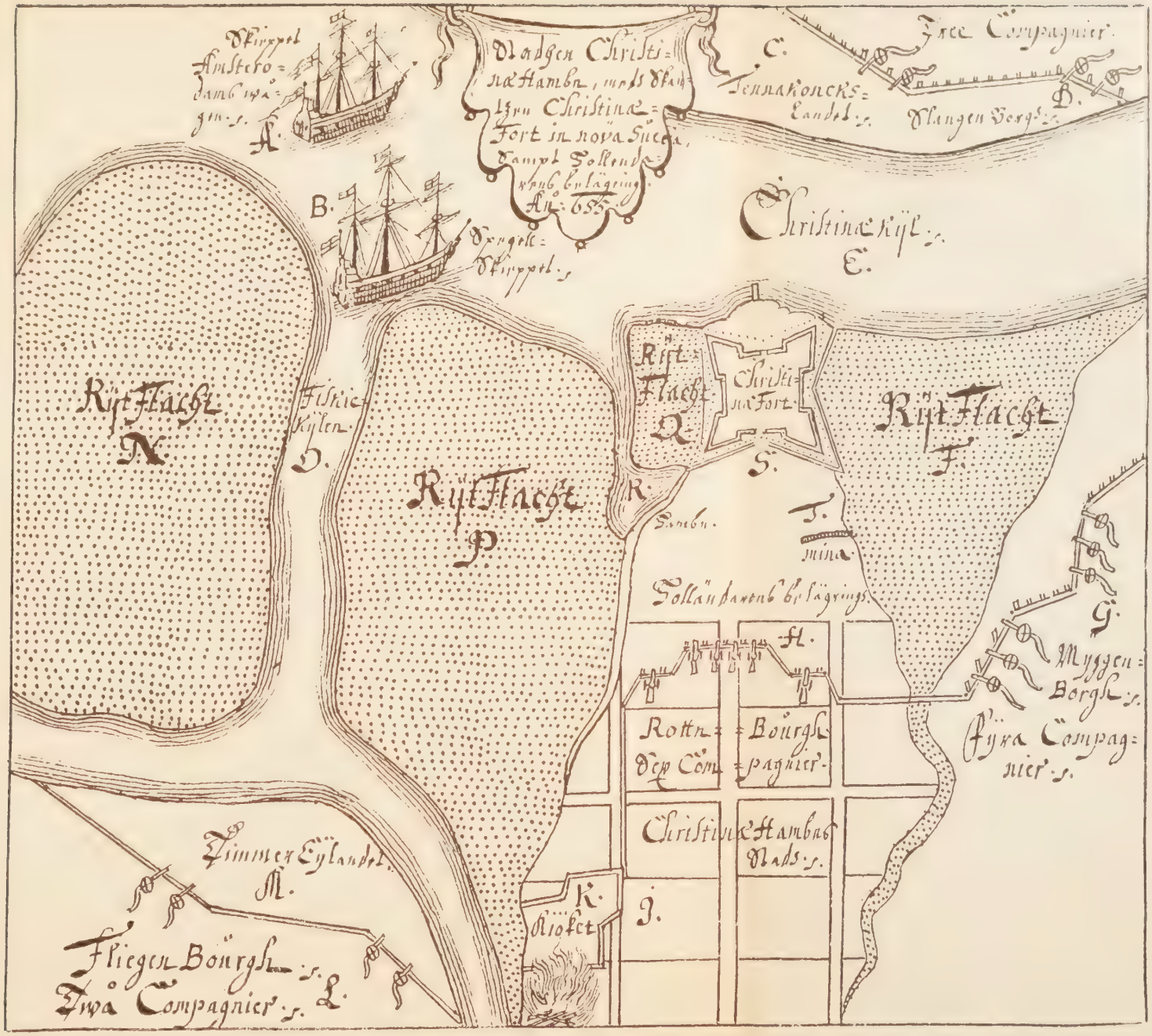
The Tennakonck land. Lit. C.

Southwest across Christina kill, 2 batteries, constructed of timber with bastions and gabions above, where 6 cannon and 4 companies were located and back of this battery stood a beautiful large tent, from which a wall was constructed up to the northern battery, Rat-burg. And since there were terribly many mosquitoes assembled at that place, this battery was called Mosquito-burg. Lit. G.

On the northern side of Fort Christina at the entrance to the main street of the town of Christinehambn there was a battery made of timber, filled in with earth [and] covered with turf, upon which there were gabions; beyond this was the headquarter, a large beautiful tent in which General Stijfvesandh was lodged, where there were 6 cannon mounted and where 6 companies were stationed. From this battery ran a rampart over to the kitchen, and since there were many rats in this place therefore they called this battery Rat-burg. Lit. H.

Rampart. Lit. I.

The kitchen was fortified through a quadrant of a square. Lit. K.



"Stadhen Christina Hambn medh Skantzen Christina Fort in Nova Svecia Sampt Hollendarens belägringh Anº 1655." (The town [of] Christinahambn with Fort Christina in New Sweden and the siege of the Hollender, in the year 1655. A. Skieppet Amsterodams wågen" (the ship *Amsterdam's Waag* (scales)). B. Spegell Skieppet (the ship *Spegel (Mirror, Dolphijn?)*, C. Tennakoncks Landet (the Tennakonck's land), D. Slangen Borgh. Tre Compagnier (three companies), E. Christina Kijl (River), F. Rijt Flacht, G. Myggen Borgh, Fijra Campagnier (Mosquito-burg. Four companies), H. Holländarens belägring (the siege of the Hollender), Rottn Bourgh. Sex Compagnier (Rat burg. Six companies), I. Christina Hambns Stadh (the town of Christinahambn), K. Kiöket (the kitchen), L. Fliegen Bourgh, Twå Compagnier (Fly-burg. Two companies), M. Timmer Eijlandet (Timber Island), N. Rijt Flacht, O. Fiskie Kijlen (Fish Kill), P. Rijt Flacht, Q. Rijt Flacht, R. Hambn (Harbor), S. Christina Fort, T. Mina (mine). From original in the *Geographia*. See pp. 268–9.

Across the Fish Kill north east of Fort Christina 4 guns were planted on top of 2 small batteries made of timbers, filled in with earth and covered with sod, gabions on top and ramparts on both sides of the battery down to the Fish Kill. At this place stood 2 companies, and because there was a great amount of Spanish flies, there, which came from the reed flats, therefore they called this fortification Fly-burg. Lit. L.

Timber Island. Lit. M.

Reed flat. Lit. N.

The Fish Kill. Lit. O.

Reed Flat. Lit. P.

Reed Flat. Lit. Q.

Christina Fort. Lit. S.

A set mine. Lit. T.

And Fort Christina was now in this manner strongly besieged by the Hollanders.

The 15th of September, early in the morning, a lieutenant was sent to Fort Trinity to take me to the signing of the agreement with the enemy. On the same day we began to discuss with the enemy. Until this day Director Mr. Rijsingh held out well and irreproachably in every manner, but then he was compelled to give up the fort on account of lack of powder, because most of the powder had been ordered to Fort Trinity to be used there, since that was the key to the New Sweden River, lying foremost in the passage, and hence first to be attacked.[12]

The 17th of September we came to an agreement and signed and sealed it and obtained a reputable and good compact, which was agreed to in the large beautiful tent between Fort Christina

[12] See map.

and the camp. After the accord had been signed, salute was given in the camp which was answered from Fort Christina and the ships, then all the cannon were discharged in the camp, on Fort Christina and on the ships.

The 18th of September, in the morning, General Stijfvesandh came stilting on his wooden leg to us in Fort Christina, gave us his hand, offered us our land again and to repay all damages he had done, only they would be allowed to live with us in the river in brotherly unity. Upon this [proposition] we began to deliberate for a couple of hours.

After the space of a couple of hours, when General Stijfvesandh came again to get an answer, after we had taken council about it, we answered him that, if we should accept such a humiliating offer, then we would act against our most gracious King and our dear fatherland and not conduct ourselves properly; nor could we guarantee that His Royal Majesty would not ungraciously receive us, if we should concede that affront, in that a company in Holland should imagine and have the audacity to remove the flag of our most gracious King, and place their own flag in its stead. Wherefore, we wish to present such to His Royal Majesty in greatest humility. Answered General Stijfvesandh: "Well, brothers, you are to judge [in this]. I have presented you with a good offer, which you refuse; hence I will let my people march in." And herewith he said: "May God give you a good morrow."

On the same day, in the afternoon, General Stijfvesandh marched into Fort Christina with his

38. King Karl (Charles) X, see pp. 37, 93, 270.
From Johnson, *Swedish Settlements.*

people, occupying all the batteries, hauling down our flag and placing his own in its stead, then giving Holland salute, first on Fort Christina, then it was answered in the camp and on the ships. Immediately thereafter all the guns were fired on Fort Christina and all the guns answered in the camp and on the ships. When all this had been accomplished on their side, we immediately marched out, over to Timber Island, in full arms, flying banners, beating drums, and pipes, burning fuses, bullet in the mouth, etc., where all our soldiers should remain until our departure, but we officers in Fort Christina.

Afterwards then we came back into the fort in the evening, the Holland General gave us delay and respite until the 1st of October to get ready for the journey and go our way with these Holland ships, first to Manhattan in New Holland, then to receive other ships there, which, according to the contents of the contract, should bring all of us Swedes who wished to return to Old Sweden again, common soldiers as well as officers and non-commissioned officers, to Gothenburg again. However, Governor Stijfvesandh managed it so that he got all our common soldiers away from us, to swear the oath of allegiance to the Hollanders, as well as some of our officers and most of the non-commissioned officers, who remained behind, partly in New Sweden and partly in New Holland.

The 25th of September, the inventory was signed and sealed, in which the whole property of New Sweden was inventoried and delivered into the hands of the Holland governor, General Stijfvesandh, namely, all the fortifications, which at

that time were found to be fortified in New Sweden, all the houses and buildings of the country, estates and farms, which were then found in proper shape and condition. The list of all our soldiers and freemen, all the materials, all the guns, with all other ammunition, all the cattle, with horses, oxen, cows, swine and everything which might be found in the country of any importance, whatsoever name it may have, which belonged to the Crown of Sweden. [This], however, [the Dutch] should keep in power and in similar conditions, until our most gracious King should demand this land again, then the Hollanders should be obliged according to the contents of our signed contract to fully restore and deliver again of like value and in good condition the whole land of New Sweden with all the inhabitants, freemen and soldiers of New Sweden, completely according to the list, and to pay all the damage which the siege had cost and make satisfaction, and everything which was found specified on the inventory and noted there. This contract was thus concluded, that the Hollanders were placed as inspectors over New Sweden, but not with the right of a possessor or owning master.[13]

The 26th of September we had a court martial concerning our Commander Sven Schüte's conduct during the siege.

The 1st of October we went, in the name of Jesus, on board the ships, said farewell to New Sweden and sailed to Manhattan in New Holland, where we officers were divided on three other Hol-

[13] That is; the property in New Sweden was given over to the Dutch in trust.

land ships, namely, *Bern, Weisse Pherdt* and *Buntekou,* which were to carry us across to Holland. But in Holland we were to go on board other Holland ships, which should take us to Gothenburg.[14]

This must now suffice as a brief account of the condition and situations in America, and its nature, as far as it may be of importance to tell and to relate it.

Finis.

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[14] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* II, 614 ff.

39. Signet Ring of Johan Rising, showing his coat of arms, used in sealing letters. Photograph kindly furnished me by C. A. Bogeman, of Stockholm.

An Ordinance Concerning People, Land and Agriculture, Forestry and Cattle, Given in New Sweden in the year 1654 [1655], etc.[1]

I.

Concerning the People, Their Passage Hither and Their Stay in the Country, etc.

1. *Soldiers are to serve at least three years* or above that, and, if they then have anything coming to them, they may be rewarded not only in merchandise and money but also with pieces of land for an everlasting possession. When a soldier has served for three years, no passage or transportation shall be counted against him, but, if he leaves the service sooner, then [he shall] pay his passage according to the time, which is left on his term of three years of service, namely—½, ⅓, ¼, etc.

2. *If anyone should desire to hire* one or more soldiers for his own work, he shall speak about it with the one who commands the soldiers at that place, and if the service of the Company should allow it, he may hire one or more of the soldiers by the week and deduct from it the pay of the soldier,[2] etc.

3. *All the officers of the Company* shall be free from [the payment of their] passage and transportation as well as any servant [of the Crown], above [the rank of] a corporal, etc.

4. *The passage, board and transportation of the freemen*, their wives and children, widows, male servants and maid servants, shall be estimated at the rate of sixteen *riksdaler* per head, over three years of age, besides their monthly rations here in the country, which they are afterwards to pay here, in time, etc.

5. *Every freeman brought over shall* pay this passage and trans-

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[1] *En Ordinants om folck, landh och landbruk, trääwärcke och boskap, giffwen in Nova Svecia Anno 1654, etc. Trääwärcke* really means woodwork, but forestry is meant here.

[2] That is: the pay of the soldier shall be deducted from the budget of the company for the number of days the soldier works for a private settler, who shall remunerate the soldier for this labor.

portation of sixteen *riksdaler* in the third year after he has settled here, whether he is a workman[3] or a farmer, etc.

6. *Whoever desires to take into his service a laborer* or a freeman, his children, his male servant or maid servant, he must pay the above-mentioned transportation money, after the lapse of a year, and these engaged servants shall serve him for three years for board and necessary clothes, but if they, before the expiration of three years, take service with another or enter marriage, then the one, who takes them out of the service of the first, shall give so much of the transportation money as remains of their time of service, namely ½, ⅓, ¼, etc., unless the master[4] will remit it out of good will or in whatever manner they may best agree according to the quality of the persons,[5] etc.

7. *Whoever takes children to himself* who have been brought over to bring up, shall pay for them the said transportation money of sixteen *riksdaler* when they have become 14 years of age, whereupon they shall serve for wages. If such children are brought up with several, the one shall pay the said money who has them in his service (when they are full 14 years old). If such a child dies before the age of 14 the transportation shall also die, etc.

8. *Whoever hires from the Company an* indentured servant over 14 years of age shall give, besides the said transportation money, additional 24 *riksdaler* and then the servant shall serve him for 6 consecutive years. The servant shall annually be given board, shoes and shirts. After 6 years of service an indentured servant shall be entirely free, etc.

9. *If an indentured servant has served the Company* here in the country a year, more or less, then so much of the servant's time and service shall be deducted from his second engagement, in order that an indentured servant may become free after six years, etc.

10. *Everything which a servant may gain through work*, handicraft or manual labor, hunting or fishing, commerce or trade or with anything else, that shall all belong to his master, unless the latter grants it to him.

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[3] *Handtwärckare.*

[4] *Hwsbonden*, master of the household, in this case the one who hires.

[5] *Efter persohners qualiteter bäst kunna accordera till.*

11. *Each and every master shall give his indentured* servants or employees sufficiently good board and proper clothes, so that there can be no just cause for complaint. If anyone is found to do otherwise, he shall be brought to court and fined according to the case, etc.

12. *No one shall entice or prevail upon another's* [*servant*] [to leave him] on penalty of 8 *riksdaler's* fine for the first offence, for the second twice as much and for the third, three times as much.[6] And in all these cases he shall be obliged to bring back the servant to his master, etc.

13. *If anyone's servant or hired man runs* away from his master out of spite, then no one shall knowingly conceal the same in his house over 24 hours on penalty of 24 *riksdaler's* fine, but shall make it known at once to the master, if he is near enough or otherwise to the neighbors and try to return the servant to his master, which everyone shall do to the other. The one who intentionally conceals another's servant shall pay a fine as already said, etc.

14. *The hire of servants, reckoned either according* to days, weeks, months or years, shall be reasonable and approach the monthly wage of the soldiers and no one shall raise the salary or outbid another, on penalty according to the case.

15. *The said hire of the servants* and hired people shall have precedence or preference above all other debts, except that of the Crown and of the Company, etc.

II.

CONCERNING LAND AND AGRICULTURE.

1. *Whoever buys land of the Company* or of anyone else shall pay in whole or according to the area, in whatever manner they agree for cleared land as clear and for uncleared land as uncleared, and shall pay for it more or less according to the situation for forest, streams, places for mills, fishing and the like, etc.

2. *If anyone buys or receives as a gift* a certain piece of land from the savages and the same has in general or particular been bought [by] or given to the Company by the same or other savages, it will remain the property of the Company, but if the

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[6] *Andre gången dubbelt, tredie gången treedubbelt.*

land has not been given or bought in general or in particular, then he shall be free to possess it,[7] etc.

3. *A tunnland*[8] *of seed holds according to Swedish* land measure-18 rods in length and 9 rods in breadth, at 9 ells to a rod[9] making 13,122 sq. ells.[10] But since the land here in New Sweden is much richer and needs less seed, we have found it expedient to let it be tried and estimated through Engineer, Mr. Pehr Lindheström, how large a piece of land is needed here in New Sweden for a barrel of seed, and he has found that it ought to hold 19 rods in length and 10 in breadth, each rod being 9 ells, making 15,390 sq. ells, etc.

4. *A tunnland is worth, when one* buys it for everlasting property of the Company or other possessor, namely:

1. Uncleared land as stated before.....
2. Cleared land but unprepared and uncultivated.....
3. Cleared, prepared and cultivated land[11].....

5. *But if one buys cultivated land of a freeman*, living upon it, he is to pay according to the situation or the agreement for each *tunnland* namely:

1. If it is cleared . . . 16 to 21 fl.
2. Prepared so that one can sow there, 30 to 50 florins, but if the freeman, living upon it, has used it for three years [the buyer is to pay] one fourth less, for 5 to 6 years one half less, for 8 years two thirds less and if it has been used 10 years he shall pay nothing for the clearing, but give tax according to the estimate, besides the transportation, the ration and other bills, if they have not been paid before,[12] etc.

6. *Whoever takes possession and uses the land of another* shall have right to it above others, children after children, and [he] cannot be driven off, unless he is in arrears for tax for three years.[13]

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[7] Such purchases by individuals from the Indians often gave rise to disputes.

[8] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 507, notes 23–25.

[9] The rod is the nearest measure we have corresponding to Swedish *stång*.

[10] The area that required one barrel of seed.

[11] For the value of land in New Sweden, see Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 526–7.

[12] See Section I, No. 4, above.

[13] Occupation for a certain number of years gave title, but if taxes were unpaid for three years the land was sold or taken over by the company.

7. *If a renter wishes to use and cultivate the land* of the Company or of anyone else with the oxen and beasts of burden of the latter,[14] then they[15] shall give half of the seed each and the owner of the land shall furnish oxen and beasts of burden. But the renter must use the land and keep the oxen and beasts of burden over the winter at his own cost as well as harvest the hay and the grain and thrash it, and then each part shall take half of the grain and of the straw, estimating according to the proof and the number of ricks.[16] But if anyone furnishes all the seed, then the other party shall pay the other his half part of it, whenever it is demanded.

8. *If several renters live together* on the same land, build, clear, plant or sow, and if one or several wish to withdraw from the others, then their entire plantations shall be valued, clearing or seeding altogether, according to the estimate of good men, and those who remain shall then pay him or them, who withdraw according to their share, or otherwise to help him or them to clear, build, plant or sow on a new place, as much as his or their share demands, etc.

III.

CONCERNING FORESTRY.[17]

1. *No one shall cut down, destroy* or ruin on his own clearing, plantation or anywhere else any useful large fine tree or pine or oak tree, from which wainscot,[18] planks or anything else useful can be made, unless he makes it known either to the governor or other person appointed for that purpose; in order that such trees, which are at this time the treasure of the country, may not be wasted but used for the best purpose. If he makes his intentions known in time and he is not supplied [with information] and ordered [what to do] by those whose business it is to see to it, he shall be without blame, etc.

2. *Whoever manufactures, cuts or saws, planks, clapboards,* timber, wainscot, or whatever wood material it may be, that can

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[14] The owner of the land.

[15] The owner and renter or tenant.

[16] *Efter proffwet och rööketahlet (röktalet). Röök (rök),* English rick, means here either sheaf, or shock (a collection of sheafs).

[17] *Om träwärcke.* See note 1, above.

[18] *Wagenskott,* Dutch *Wagenschot;* not used in modern Swedish.

be exported, manufactured, cut or sawed, he shall offer it, first to the Company or the one owning the land, for a reasonable price and then he is free to try his best [to sell it elsewhere], etc.

IV.

CONCERNING CATTLE.

1. *If anyone buys cattle of another* he shall pay their value according to the market and execute it as in the case of other purchase, etc.

2. *If anyone wants to give out cattle to another* for half of the offspring and the produce, then he shall receive every other calf a year old, well fed and the renter shall receive every other calf, to which the cow gives birth, and he shall bring the calves up well at his own expense and give to the owner annually a *lispund*[19] of butter in rent; but, if the cow dies before the owner receives his calf, the renter shall pay for her according to her price,—this to be continued as long as they agree to it, etc.

3. For the offspring and produce of goats, sheep and swine there shall be the same law; and in these cases for milk, butter, cheese and wool of the goats and sheep, according to the manner in which the owner and renter may best agree, etc.

This to whom it may concern, for a submissive regulation.

Actum ut supra,

On behalf of the Honorable Royal South Company,[20]

(Signed) JOHAN RIJSINGH.

Unto this book is now an end,
May Jesus us His mercy send.[21]

Finis.

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[19] About 18½ lbs. (a *lispund* is 20 Swedish pounds).
[20] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 505 ff.
[21] *På denna Book är nu Ande;*
Jesus oss sijn Nådhe sände.

=brwk, Trääwärcke, och Boskap. etc. 249.

Äganden och Hyranden bäst kunna förlykas om. s.
Detta Wedherbörandom till een Hörsam efterrättelse.
Actum ut supra.

Uppå det Högsloffl: Kongl:
Södher Compagniets Wägner,

Johan Rysingh.

L: S:

På denna Book är nu Ände,
Jesus oss syn Nådhe sände.

40. Last page of the *Geographia*. Original size.

Appendix

40. "David Zeisberger preaching to the Indians." From the original pencil sketch in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Zeisberger's *Grammar* and *Dictionary* (see p. 298, below) are enduring monuments to the Delaware Indians and their beautiful language.

Appendix

INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

With Their Probable Significations

It has been said that civilized peoples give names to places and persons without reference to their meaning, and that these names are merely numbers or arbitrary signs, used for convenience to distinguish one locality or person from another, just as we may think of Policeman Number 10 on Beat Number 2. This contention is not strictly correct, although backed by such authorities as John Stuart Mill and others.[1] In the majority of

[1] Mill contends that a proper name is "a mere mark put upon an individual, and of which it is the characteristic property to be destitute of meaning." This will apply only to certain names, if they were printed in a list as mere words. In such a list James, John, Andrew, etc., would in themselves be "destitute of meaning," except to the philologist; but in such a list we would find scores of other names that in themselves as individual words have meanings, as Frank, Grace, Brown, Cannon, Flood, Ford, etc. When parents give names to their children, they certainly do think of meaning or associations, historical or otherwise, and in the great majority of cases, there is a reason for selecting any given name; which proves that, while such proper names may not in themselves have a definite meaning, apparent to the parties concerned, in the same sense that a chair means a contrivance to sit on, a saw, a tool with which wood and other materials are cut, they do have historical or other associations attached to them in the minds of those selecting them, and are, by no means, as Mill insists, mere marks or numbers "destitute of meaning." This tendency or desire, even among highly civilized peoples, to have names express definite meanings is perhaps seen at its best in the very prevalent custom of giving nicknames to persons and places, thus: "Freckle-face," "Blabbermouth," "Shorty," "Fatty," "Alfalfa John," "Lovers Lane," "Hell Gate," etc.

cases, we *do think* of the meaning of names we give to places, and many of the names of streets and localities in this country and Europe have or had a meaning attached to them. Thus, Pine Street in Philadelphia, Haymarket in London, Wall Street in New York, Swedesboro in New Jersey, Quakertown in Pennsylvania, Kungsholmen in Stockholm, Rua Serpo Pinto in Lisbon, Wayne Junction in Pennsylvania, Point Pleasant in New Jersey, Kettle River in Minnesota, Deer Creek in Michigan,[2] etc., etc.

Even to proper names of persons, we often attach a meaning or an association. Thousands of boys were called Grover, in honor of Grover Cleveland, while other thousands were named Woodrow in honor of Woodrow Wilson. The naming of children after Saints is the same striving to attach a meaning or an association to proper names.

If individual names are ever given without reference to a meaning, they will take on meanings, or certain characteristics will be associated with them as time goes on. Thus, we will associate certain characteristics with Policeman Number 10, with Joe, or with Bill, or with some place we like or dislike. Joe will recall a pleasant, jovial fellow, and when his name is mentioned, these qualities are uppermost in the mind, while Bill may be a synonym of brutality and evil. The name Lake Hopatcong will suggest fine fishing and beautiful

[2] The changing of geographical names, prevalent during 1914–1918, proves beyond argument that names have meanings, or associations attached to them; otherwise, why all the excitement about certain names during the late war? Only recently Christiania has been changed to *Oslo* "for historic reasons."

canoeing, while New York brings up visions of tall buildings and tremendous traffic.

If we examine the above geographical and personal names, we find that they fall into three classes or categories: *Geographical names that refer to certain topographical or natural characteristics,* as Kettle River (from the fact that deep kettles are found in the rocks along the banks), Point Pleasant, etc.; *Geographical and other names with historical or sentimental associations,* as Haymarket, Wall Street, Woodrow, Napoleon,[3] etc.; *Geographical names that refer to:* (a) *the presence (usually in abundance) of certain animals, plants,* etc., thus Pine Street,[4] Deer Creek, Pike Lake, Stone Harbor, etc.; (b) *the proximity, position, or presence of another place, or of a person, sect, or race,* as Wayne Junction, Wayside Inn, North River, Hornell,[5] Germantown, Swedesboro, etc.

From the above it is apparent that the only difference between primitive and civilized peoples in their mental attitude towards names is one of degree, not of kind. Primitive peoples have a much stronger desire to give a name that not only carries with it a meaning, but makes the designation so closely associated with the person or place, that the one will connote the other, if known to us. This tendency often occasions the most picturesque meanings and forms. With us, the length of a

[3] The names of streets and localities called after great men are so designated either to honor the community where the street or locality exists, or to perpetuate the person in question, in either case showing the desire to attach meaning or associations to the name.

[4] Philadelphia was "located among the tall pines;" and the street is an attempt to perpetuate this local characteristic.

[5] Founded by Judge Hornell.

name is a factor (our names must be short, or comparatively so); with primitive peoples, this is of slight importance, as time is of no consequence to them, and the effort of pronouncing a long name is no drawback.

The American Indians never gave an arbitrary name to a place, and seldom, perhaps never, to a person.[6] Their names always fall under one of the above divisions, thus:

1. Geographical and other names with historical or sentimental associations, with descriptive traits, or of individual peculiarities (often accidentally acquired, referring to some act or event), as *Chicho-hacki,* "The first, or oldest planted ground," *Kwilutamend,* "where we surprised them," *Tash-suk-amen* (Indian chief), "he never blackens himself," etc.

2. Geographical names that refer to: (a) the presence (usually in abundance) of certain plants, trees, natural objects, etc., as, *Poetkwes-sing,* "where there are mice;" *Gawunsh-eskwe,* "full of briers," *Kuwe-hanne,* "pine tree stream," etc.; (b) the proximity, position, or presence of some other place, thing, person, or race, as, *Mantehanne,* "the river of the Munsee Indians," *Achsinnink,* "at the standing rock," etc.

3. Geographical names that refer to certain topographical or natural characteristics, as *Assinp-ink,* "stone creek," *Olink-hanne,* "the creek in the valley," *Pek-hanne,* "dark or deep stream," etc.

[6] The same condition exists among the tribes in Central West Africa. One of my servants was called *Kudya wa Putu* ("food of the Portuguese"). He was so wealthy once that he could live and eat like a Portuguese, hence his name.

When we meet Indian Geographical names that have survived the vicissitudes of conquest and change, we may therefore be certain that they have, or had a meaning, or that they contain an historical allusion, or refer to topographical or other characteristics that were once apparent, but are now, perhaps, obscured or obliterated. These names have generally been greatly corrupted, and in the majority of cases are no longer pronounced, even approximately, as they once were by the aborigines, who roamed the forests and attached these names to our rivers, lakes, or mountains.

It is not always possible, even for the scholar, to reconstruct with absolute certainty the forms and sound values of these words. The individual sounds and forms in the old Lenape dialects are uncertain, as the spelling of the words that have come down to us is varied and confused. The orthography of English, Dutch, German, or Swedish of the period (1600–1700) was capricious and fanciful. If the colonists were uncertain about the writing of their native language, often using *k, ch,* or even *g,* for the same sound, how much more uncertain and confused would their orthography be of a language so unlike their own as the Indian! This uncertainty and confusion in the orthography of Indian geographical names often form an unsurmountable barrier to a correct interpretation and derivation of these names.

If we take Pennypack Creek (an example at random,—there are many such), we find that it is spelled, *Penickpacka* and *Pemipack* (several variations with *Pem-* as the initial syllable), due to a

confusion of *m* and *n*. In trying out this name on persons who had never heard of it before, pronouncing it "Pemipack," I found that three out of eight thought I said "Pemipack;" while five heard it as "Pennypack;" possibly because "penny-" contains two familiar syllables. Of three Italians to whom I pronounced the name "Pemipack," one wrote it "Premipack" and two, "Pemipack." Here, then, we have three different spellings for the same combination of sounds; in other words, individuals who had as much training and education as the early settlers reacted in three different ways as to their personal interpretations of the sound combinations uttered by the same person. Suppose *Pemipack* were pronounced by different individuals to a number of persons? In that case it is quite certain the forms would be still more numerous and varied.

The nationality of the transcriber greatly influences the form of a word. A Swede will write the same Indian word differently from an Englishman or a German, and an Englishman differently from either of the other two—the German and the Swede writing the Indian word most nearly alike —in every case each one of the three reproducing what he thinks he hears on the basis of his own sound values, not what he really "hears."[7]

In this connection, I wish to say that I do not believe that *r* was used by the Lenapes in the early period of colonization and later, "in historic

[7] The sound waves that strike the ear of the Swede, the German, or the Englishman are, of course, the same, but the interpretation of these sound waves is different in the case of the three nationalities, hence, they really "hear" differently.

times," changed to *l*, as has often been stated.[8] I believe that the sound which Lindeström and Campanius represented by *r* and later writers by *l* was neither of these, but something that partook of both.[9]

During my recent journey in Africa, I had a leopard cat which became so tame that it was allowed to run about at large. In the evenings, I would call it, "*Kitty, Kitty, Kitty.*" A Portuguese officer, who heard me call the little animal, tried to make friends with it, when he visited me, by calling it, as he thought I did, "*Kiri, Kiri, Kiri.*" The combination *itti*, sounded like *iri* to his Portuguese ear, while a German, or a Hollander might have heard it as "*ili.*" I believe we are confronted with the same phenomenon in the case of the Lenape *r* and *l*. To Lindeström's ear, the sound seemed nearest to Swedish *r;* while to Heckewelder, Zeisberger and English interpreters the sound appeared to be *l*.[10]

It is also possible that the tribes of the Schuylkill and Wilmington districts, with which the

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[8] Heckewelder was, perhaps, the first to express this view, in an essay which he submitted to The American Philosophical Society in 1822, later edited by Du Ponceau and published in the Proceedings of the Society in 1837. See list of sources, below.

[9] There is a peculiar *l* sound in the Värmland dialect of Swedish, represented in words like *kalv* (calf), where the tongue in pronouncing this *l* is at first in a position for pronouncing the American-English *r*, then "flopped over," with the tip of the tongue touching the lower palate at the root of the teeth. Some Swedes (those from Småland, among others) are unable to pronounce this *l*. Foreigners hearing this sound will write it in several ways.

[10] It does not seem probable that one sound should have undergone such a radical change, without basically affecting the other sounds as well, and there seems to have been no shifting of the other consonants.

Swedes came in closest contact, employed a sound that came nearer to *r* than that of the Minsi dialect, from which Zeisberger and Heckewelder obtained most of their words.[11]

The above will make clear to those not familiar with the subject the difficulty that besets us in our attempt to explain and interpret Indian geographical names. Reverting to Pennypack Creek, we clearly see that the derivation and meaning will be different if we accept *Penickpacka* from what it will be if we suppose that *Pemipack* is correct. Then again, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine where the division or accent of the stems is to be made. Thus, one word may be divided or accented in such a way that it will mean two or three different things; especially is this true in cases where the words have been corrupted almost or entirely beyond recognition. It is quite certain that even an Indian of the period, when the names were recorded, would have been unable to explain some of the corruptions, or offer suggestions as to their true meanings. Fortunately, however, historical facts, or topographical characteristics often help us to determine the correct or probable meaning and derivation in cases when corruption has practically obscured the real form.

In some cases, too, the form has been retained, even in its most modern spelling, so pure that

[11] It is possible in case that the tribes using the *r* gradually decreased and finally amalgamated with Indians further west, adopting their dialect. Heckewelder says: "These tribes [that used *r* instead of *l*] were extinct when I came to this country." In West Africa I found two tribes living side by side, speaking similar dialects, one containing a rather distinct *r*, the other a distinct *d* in the same stem. See my forthcoming book, ***The Ethnography of Certain Bantu Tribes.***

when pronounced with an English accent, it is intelligible to one who has a knowledge of Indian dialects.[12]

I have made no attempt to reproduce the Lenape words or stems by the scientific orthography employed in modern texts, as this would tend to confuse and bewilder the local historians and others unacquainted with scientific phonology, who may use the list. The names are printed in the forms in which they have come down to us and only slight changes have been introduced, such as substituting *sh* (English orthography) for *sch* (German orthography).[13] The stems found in Brinton's and Zeisberger's Dictionaries have likewise been but slightly modified. The following works are the main sources for the location, meaning and derivation of the words:

ARMSTRONG (EDITOR), EDWARD,

The Record of the Court at Upland in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681. Pub. of Hist. Society of Pennsylvania. (1860.) Quoted: Armstrong, *Rec.*

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[12] Tupeekhanna Creek, from *Tupek-hanne;* Mahoning Creek, from *Mahon-ing,* etc.

[13] The Lenape dialects contained certain gutteral sounds that had some counterparts in German and Dutch, but none in English. The German and Dutch orthography therefore reproduces these sounds more accurately than the English. It is noticeable that the forms of Lindeström and Campanius are often quite similar to those preserved by Heckewelder and Zeisberger. *Ch* used by Germans and Swedes in writing Indian names apparently sounded somewhat like the German *ch* and partook somewhat of the German *sch* (Swed. *sh*), for we find the sound written both ways, *achsin, aschsin,* etc. See Campanius, *Cate.,* Heckewelder, *Names,* Zeisberger, *Dictionary,* Lindeström, *Geographia.*

BRINTON, DANIEL G.,

1. *A Lenâpé-English Dictionary.* (1888.) Quoted: Brinton, *Dict.,* or Br., 37, etc.
2. *The Lenâpé and Their Legends,* etc. (1885.) Quoted: Brinton, *Legends.*

CAMPANIUS, JOHAN,

Catechismus Lutheri Lingva Svecico-Americana. (1696.) Quoted: Campanius, *Cate.*

Catalogue of Maps and Surveys in the offices of the Secretary of State, etc. Albany, N. Y., 1851. Quoted: *Cata.* (1851.)

DU PONCEAU, P[ETER]-ÉT[IENNE STEPHEN],

Mémoire sur le Systeme Grammatical des Langues de Quelques Nations Indiennes de l'Amérique du Nord, etc. (1838.) (*Vocabulaire Comparatif,* p. 259 ff.)

FERRIS, BENJAMIN,

A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, etc. (1846.)
Quoted: Ferris, *Settlements.*

HAZARD (EDITOR), SAMUEL,

Pennsylvania Archives. Selected and arranged from original Documents, etc., I–XII, 1664–1790. Philadelphia, 1852–1856. (Unfortunately the Index is of slight value.) Quoted: *Pa. Ar.*

HECKEWELDER, JOHN,

Names which the Lenni-Lenape or Delaware Indians . . . had given to Rivers, Streams, Places,

etc. . . . Communicated to the Am. Philo. Society, April 5, 1822, etc. *Transactions of the Am. Philo. Society,* IV, New Series (1834), 351–96. Quoted: Heck., *Names.*
Other editions of this Paper are:

1. JONES, MAURICE O.,
Memorandum of the Names and Significations which the "Lenni-Lenape" . . . had given to Rivers, Streams, Places, etc. . . . taken from the papers of the Rev. John Heckewelder, etc. Proceedings of the Hist. Society of Pennsylvania, 1847, I, No. 9, pp. 121 ff; 139 ff. Quoted: Jones, *Names.*

2. REICHEL, WILLIAM C.,
Names which the Lenni-Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to Rivers, Streams and Localities, etc.[14] Both of the above present the same material as the Paper in *Transactions of Am. Philo. Society,* IV, New Series, 351 ff., though no mention is made of this fact. Reichel, however, added copious notes from Zeisberger's *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling-book* (1776) and other sources, and he omits the list of Indian chiefs found in Heckewelder.

HECKEWELDER, JOHN,
History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, etc. (Edited by Reichel, 1876.)[15] Quoted: Heck., *Indian Nations.*

[14] Published in *Transactions of the Moravian Hist. Society,* I, 225–82 (Nazareth, 1872. Also pub. separately, pp. 1–58).
[15] This is a reprint with annotations of Heckewelder's *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations,* etc., pub. in 1819 by the Am. Philo. Society.

HECKEWELDER, JOHN,
A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, etc. Philadelphia, 1820. Quoted: Heck., *Narrative.*

HENRY, MATTHEW S.,
A Dictionary of the Delaware Indian Language, etc. Bound manuscript copy in the Ridgway Library, Philadelphia. Interesting and serviceable, if used with care, as Henry has assembled a large number of definitions from many sources; but he was not a linguist and his knowledge of Swedish, German, Dutch and Indian was so rudimentary that he refers to *Nickhucken* as a Swedish term(!), and he makes *hjorte* an Indian word! His compilation when based on his sources is not without value, but his own suggestions are often wild and generally useless. Quoted: Henry, *Dict.*

[HENRY, MATTHEW S.],
Delaware Indian and English. From *A* to, and including part of, *P.* Arrangement of words slightly different from the *Vocabulary* below, otherwise the same. MS. in Hist. Society of Pennsylvania.

HENRY, MATTHEW S.,
Vocabulary, Delaware Indian and English. Based on "Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Jn. Smith, Roger Williams, Campanius de Holm [and] Elliot." The Indian-English part only. MS. in Hist. Society of Pennsylvania.

HENRY, MATTHEW S.,

A bound manuscript volume of *Indian Geographical Names of Pennsylvania,* and their meanings, with an Introduction and a series of MS. Maps of counties in Pennsylvania, showing location of paths, villages, rivers, places, etc., which have Indian names. Must be used with great care; not reliable. In Hist. Society of Pennsylvania. Quoted: Henry, *Names.*

[HENRY, MATTHEW S.],

Indian Names. A manuscript volume (marked Am. 507) in the Hist. Society of Pennsylvania. Contains the "Indian name of place—translation—locality—modern name—authority — observations."

HENRY, MAT[THEW] S.,

Additional Indian Names of Streams, Places, etc., names of Indian Chiefs, etc., not contained in the manuscript delivered by me to the Hist. Society of Pennsylvania, Phila., Sept. 25th, 1856. In Hist. Society of Pennsylvania. Quoted: Henry, *Ad. Names.*

HODGE, FREDERICK WEBB,

Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. I–II. (1907, 1910.) Quoted: Hodge, *Handbook.*

HOLM, THOMAS CAMPANIUS,

Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Swerige, etc. (1702.) Quoted: Holm, *Kort Beskrifning.*

JORDAN (EDITOR), JOHN W.,

The Annals of Friedenshutten, etc., with John Ettwein's Jouranl, etc., 1765–1772. A volume of clippings in the Hist. Society of Pennsylvania.

LOSKIEL, GEORGE HEINRICH,

Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerika. (1789.) Transl., London, 1794.

Manuscript Journals, in the Hist. Society of Pennsylvania. See Post, etc., below.

Manuscript Lists of Delaware Indian Words and Names, by Heckewelder and others, in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. They contain valuable information.

Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, etc. (Usually referred to as *Colonial Records:* binder's title), I–XIII; some with Philadelphia imprint (1851 ff., Vol. I, etc.); others with Harrisburg imprint (1838 ff., Vol. II, etc.). Quoted: *Col. Rec.*

NELSON, WILLIAM,

The Indians of New Jersey, etc. (1894.) Quoted: Nelson, *Indians.*

POST, CHRISTIAN F.,

1. *Journal,* pub. in *Pennsylvania Archives,* III, 412 ff.; cf. No. 2.

2. *Journals and other manuscripts,* in the Hist. Society of Pennsylvania.

3. *Journal*[*s*], etc. (Appendix to Rupp, *Early Hist. of West. Pennsylvania,* pp. 75–126. See

[Rupp, I. Daniel], *Early Hist.*, etc.) The above works quoted: Post, *Journal.*

REICHEL, REV. W. C.,
Wyalusing, etc. Transactions of the Moravian Hist. Society, I, 179–224.

[RUPP, I. DANIEL],
Early History of Western Pennsylvania, etc. (1846.)

RUTTENBER, E. M.,
Indian Geographical Names, etc. New York Hist. Association (1906), VI. Quoted: Ruttenber, *Names.*

Simitière and other Manuscripts, in the Ridgway Library, Philadelphia. They contain interesting material.

Specimen of the Mountaineer . . . and Mimac Languages. Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society for the year M, DCC, XCIX. (1800), p. 16 ff.

TOOKER, WILLIAM WALLACE,
1. *Indian Place-Names in East-Hampton Town.* (1889.)
2. *Indian Names of Places in the Borough of Brooklyn.* (1901.)
3. *The Indian Place-Names on Long Island,* etc. (1911.) See Bibliography, pp. 303–314. Quoted: Tooker, *Names.*

TRUMBULL, J[AMES] HAMMOND,
1. *Indian Names of Places, etc., in and on the Borders of Connecticut.* (1881.) Quoted: Trumbull, *Names.*

2. *Natick Dictionary* (1903). Quoted: Trumbull, *Dict.*

WILLIAMS, ROGER. *Key into the Language of America,* etc. *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society,* I., 1827[16] Quoted: Williams, *Key.*

ZEISBERGER, DAVID,

1. *Essay of a Delaware-Indian and English Spelling-Book,* etc. (1776.) Quoted: Zeisberger, *Essay.*

2. *Zeisberger's Indian Dictionary. English, German, Iroquois—the Onondaga and Algonquin—the Delaware.* (1887.) Edited by E. N. Horsford. Quoted: Zeisberger, *Dict.,* or Zr., 37, etc.

3. *A Grammar of the Language of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians.* Translated from the German Manuscript of the late Rev. David Zeisberger . . . by Peter Stephen Duponceau. Presented to the Society, December 1816. Transactions of the Am. Philo. Society, III, New Series (1830), 65–251.

NOTE. In this connection, I want to express my sincere thanks to Professor Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, for helping me in some difficult cases. My gratitude is enhanced by the fact that he was willing to go over the matter a second time, having aided me when I prepared the list for my book which perished several years ago. I also desire to thank Colonel Henry D. Paxson for supplying local information about names and places in Bucks County, and Dr. H. C. Mercer, of Doylestown, for notes and helpful suggestions. Thanks are also due Miss Wylie and especially Miss Miller, of the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for their courtesies and untiring efforts to make the collections of Indian materials in the Society available for my use.

[16] The best modern edition of this work is by James Hammond Trumbull in *Pub. of the Narragansett Club* (1866), I, with a Biographical Introduction by R. A. Guild.

42. "Lapowinsa" (*Lapha-winsu*, "gathering fruit"), famous Indian Chief and Orator, one of the signers of the Treaty for the "Walking Purchase" and various other deeds (see below, p. 365). This and the portrait of *Tash-suk-amen* (plate 43) are the earliest pictures taken from life of Delaware Chiefs. They were painted by Gustav Hesselius, the Swedish artist, for John Penn, apparently in the summer of 1735. The signatures on the portraits are by Hesselius and in John Penn's *Journals and Cash Books* under date of "Philadelphia, Anno 1735, the 6th month, the 12," is the following: "The Propr. J. Penn Dr. to cash £16, paid on his order to Hesselius, the Swedish painter." (See plate 43.)

INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

To save space and obviate the necessity of repeating the Indian words and their meanings, the Lenape names have been listed alphabetically, followed by the modern form or forms.

The list is of course not complete. To have made it exhaustive for the Delaware Basin, or nearly so, would have required much more time than was at my disposal.

(L.) after an Indian or other word indicates that it is from Lindeström's *Maps*.

ACHEWEK-ANNE, ACHWE-HANNE.

Acheweu, bush, bushy (Zr., 30; Br., 9), + (*h*)*anne,* creek, hence, "bush creek." In this, as in many other cases, the Indian name has been translated into English, though sometimes retained in a corrupted form. Thus, we have:

1. Aughwick Creek, Pa. 2. Great Aughwick Creek (probably called *Mech-Achwe-hanne* by the Indians), Huntingdon County, Pa. There was an Indian town on this creek, probably called *Achewek-ing.* 3. Bush Creek, Somerset County, Pa. 4. Bush Creek, Westmoreland County, Pa. 5. Bushy Creek, Beaver County, Pa. 6. Bushkill Creek,[1] Northampton County, Pa. 7. Bushkill (Village), Pike County, Pa. 8. Bushkill Falls, Pike County, Pa. 9. An Indian Village at or near the site of Shirleysburg, where Fort Shirley was built in 1756 (*Col. Rec.,* VII, 77, etc.), probably called *Achewek-ing,* "at the place of the bush."

[1] Bushkill is compounded with the Dutch *Kil* (*kijl*) in the same way as Lindeström compounded Indian, Swedish and Dutch words to form names, as *Assinpinck afallet, Apoquenema Kijl,* etc. For *Kijl,* see foot-note 14, below.

ACHEWEKIK,
signifying "a thicket" (Heck., *Names,* 378). *Achewcu* (*wipochk*), thicket, bush (Zr., 195; Br., 9, 161).

1. Aquakik, Maryland.

ACHEWE-TONG, ACHEWE-TANK.[2]
Achewe, bush, bushy (see *Achewe-hanne*), + *-tonk, -tank,* at, hence, "at the place of bushes," or "at the bushy place (see *Achewekik,* which was corrupted into Aquakik, *Achewe > aqua* (e), and *Pekstank,* corrupted into Paxton; also *Lechawi-tank, -tank,* at).

1. Aquetong Spring, also called the Great Spring and Ingham Spring, possibly the largest natural fountain in Eastern Pennsylvania,—situate in Solebury Township, Bucks County, Pa. "The flow of this spring is 3,000,000 gallons in 24 hours, the calculation having been made about 1895 by Amasa Ely, of the Philadelphia Water Works."—Col. Henry D. Paxson. 2. Aquetong Creek, Bucks County, Pa. 3. Kitchen's Creek, Bucks County, Pa.

ACHGOK-WALIKO, ACHGOK-WOLAKO, etc.
Achgok, Atchgok, snake (Br., 11), + *woalak,* hole (Zr., 95), hence, signifying "a snake's hole."

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[2] Vogler gives the form as *Equawtonk* and seems to think that it means "where the drifted matter is from pine trees." (Henry, *Names.*)

It may come from *Kuweu- ekuweu,* pine tree (see *Kuweu-hanne*), + *-tank, -tonk, -tong,* at (*Peks-tank, Lechawe-tank*), hence, "at the place of the pine trees." At any rate, it is undoubtedly part of a phrase meaning "the spring at the pine trees" (*tupe-kuwe-tank*), or, if we accept *Achewe-tong* as the correct form, "at the spring among the bushes" (*tupek-achewe-tong*).

1. Cocalico Creek, Lancaster County, Pa. 2. Cocalico Boro, Lancaster County, Pa.

Achkwo-anshikola, Achquo-anschicola, "where we fish with the bush net." (Heck.) *Achquonau,* hauled with the net, or rather, with the bush net (Zr., 129); stem, *acheweu,* bush Zr., 30; Br., 9), + *achquoanikan,* bush-net (Br., 13).

1. Aquashicola Creek, Carbon County, Pa. 2. Aquashicola Creek, Monroe County, Pa. 3. Aquashicola village, Carbon County, Pa.

Achowaskwit, Achowasquit. (Achomaskwit?), signifying "grassy, overgrown with grass" (?), (Heck., *Names*). Cf. *Masgik, maskik, maskekwack, grass* (Zr., 86; Br., 74); *skiquall,* grass, herbs (Br., 133).

1. Aquasquit, Maryland.

Achses-peck-hanne, Axses-packo-hanne, Assisko-pek-hanne, Achseespayko-hanne (Vogler). *Achses-, asses, assisku,* clay, mud (see *Assiskunk,* for derivation), + stem of *papek,* pond, still water (see *Asoepecka*), + *hanne,* creek—"muddy water-creek"—hence, the English names:

1. Muddy Creek, Green County, Pa. 2. Muddy Creek, Lancaster County, Pa. 3. Mud Run, Northampton County, Pa.

Achsinni-hanne, Achsin-hanne, "stone, or stoney creek." *Achsinnigeu, achtshingi, achsinall, ashsin, achsin, essin, sinnike,* stone, stony (Br., 13, 35; Zr., 184; Heck., *Names*), + *-hanne,* creek, hence:

1. Stony Creek, Cambria County, Pa. 2. Stony Creek, Carbon County, Pa. 3. Stony Creek, Somerset County, Pa. 4. Stony Run, Westmoreland County, Pa.

ACHSINNI-MAHON-ING.

Achsinnigeu, stony, *achsin,* stone (see *Achsinni-hanne*), + *mahoni,* lick (see *Mahoni*), + *ing,* at, hence, signifying "at the stone lick," or at the stony lick," from the fact, perhaps, that the place along the creek, where deer or other animals came to lick, the earth was stony, or full of stones.

1. Sinnemahoning Creek, Clinton County, Pa. (and other names of places).

ACHSINN-INK.

Achsin, stone, (see *Achsinni-hanne*), + *ink,* at, hence, at "the stone" (large stone).

1. Stony Run, Lycoming County, Pa. 2. Indian Village; see *Achsinne-sink.*

ACHSINN-INK-HANNE, ACHSIN-HANNE.

Achsinnigeu, stony, *achsinal, aschsin, achsin,* stone (cf. *Achsinni-hanne*), + *ing* (*ink*), at, + *hanne,* creek, hence, meaning "the creek at the stone." (See *Achsinnes-ink.*)

1. Standing Stone Creek, Huntingdon County, Pa.

ACHSINNES-INK, ACHSINNIS-ING.

Achsinnes (diminutive form), small rock, + *ink,* at, hence, "at the place of the small rock," *Achsinn-ink* means "at the place of the rock,"

or "the large rock." (See *Achsinn-ink;* cf. *Achsinni-hanne,* for derivation.)

1. An Indian village located at, or near, the site of present Huntingdon, Pa. (*Pa. Ar.*)

ACKAN MAMANGÅHÅ (L.), ACKAN-MAMANGOHO.

It possibly means "the land of the large owl" (cf. Brinton, *Dict.,* 19, 45; Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 110, 137). Cf. the name in the printed list, accompanying Lindeström's *Map* (A).

AEQUIKENASKA (L.).

It is possibly compounded with *achibis, aeki,* to bind (Br., 11), + *quenischquney,* panther, (Br., 121), hence, "the place where the panther was bound"?, perhaps from the fact that a young panther (cougar) was captured on the island.

1. Petty Island.

ALLEGUEPPY'S GAP,

Huntingdon County, Pa., named from *Allegueppi,* an Indian Chief. (Henry, *Names.*)

ALLIGE(W)-HANNE, ALLEGE-HANNE.

Allegewi, the name of an Indian tribe, said to have had their villages on the river before the arrival of the Lenapes (Heck., *Names,* 367),[3] + *hanne,* river, hence, the river of the *Allegewi.* The country was called *Allegewi-nink,* "in the territory of the Allegewis."

[3] But Delaware and Shawnee Indians, residing on this river in the 18th Century, were called *Allegheni* (*Alleghany,* etc.) by Post, Rupp, and others (see Hodge, *Handbook,* I, 45, and references there; also *Pa. Ar.,* I, 550, 552, etc.). This certainly contradicts Heckewelder's statement.

1. Allegheny River, Allegheny County, Pa. 2. Allegheny County, Pa. 3. Allegheny town, Allegheny County, Pa. (and other names).

ALUMMINGH (L.).

This name has possibly the stem of *allum, alum*[4] dog (Br., 18), + *-ing,* at, hence meaning at the place of the dog.

1. For Location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A). 2. Aronamink, Philadelphia County, Pa.

AMIMENIPATJ (L.), AMIMENIPATI.

Amemi, amimi, pigeon(s-?) (Br., 19, 20; Zr., 143), + *nepodi, nipodi,* sleeping place (for stem see Brinton, *Dict.,* 97), hence, "the place where the pigeons sleep or roost."

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A).

AMOCHK-ING,

"at the place of the beaver," (Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 161; Zr., 20; see *Amochk-pahas-ink*). From the fact that the Indians called several places and streams in this district *Amochk-ing, Amochkwi-hanne,* etc., the name was translated by the English and attached to the county, thus,

1. Beaver County, Pa. (See *Kaskask-sipus* and *Tamakwe-hanne.*)

AMOCHK-PAHAS-INK (-ING), AMOCHK-PAS-INK (Heck., *Names,* 371).

Amochk, a beaver (Zr., 20; Brinton gives *k'temaque, k'temakwe* for beaver, *Dict.,* 58;

[4] *Allum, alum,* may, however, mean pond, source of a river (Trumbull, *Names,* 3), + *ing,* hence, "at the pond." This is, perhaps, the most likely derivation.

Holm has *tamaaque, Kort Beskrifning*), + *gophamen,* to dam up (Zr., 51), + *ink* (*ing*) at, where, hence, "where the beaver dams up, or constructs a dam." Hence the English names: 1. Beaver Dam Creek, Westmoreland County, Pa. 2. Beaver Dam Creek, Somerset County, Pa. 3. Beaver Dam Creek (Cf., *Col. Rec.,* IV, 270), Chester County, Pa., now called Beaver Creek (and other names).[4a]

AMOCHKWI-SIPU, AMOCHK-HANNE,

"the beaver river or creek." *Amochk,* beaver (see *Amochk-pahas-ink* for derivation), + *sipu, hanne,* river, creek.

1. Beaver River, Beaver County, Pa. See *Kaskask-sipu.*

ANNEVARHICKAN (L.).

The meaning is uncertain. *Hickan* means tide, ebb, end of the flow, hence, the end (mouth) of a river.

1. Strip of land on the west bank of the Neshaminy Creek to the Delaware, forming an angle. (Cf. *Makeriskhickon* and other forms of early deeds. See *Makerisk-Kitton.*)

APELOGAKAN, APALOCHGOKON,

signifying "the messenger returned," or "whence the messenger returned" (Heck.,

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[4a] "And other names" printed in parenthesis after names of places means that other places, creeks, etc., are called by the name preceding the parenthesis.

Names, 361).[5] Cf. *Allogakan,* messenger, or servant (Zr., 123; Br., 17).

1. Appolacon Creek, Susquehanna County, Pa.

APOQUENEMA KIJL (L.).

The name apparently refers to a tribe of the Minkwas, as Lindeström also calls the stream *Mingues Kijl* (Minkwas Creek). The word may be from the stems *apoque, apokwe,* settlement, + *nemen,* to see (Br., 93; Hodge, *Handbook,* I, 70). Cf. *Apamatica, Appamatox,* etc., of the Powhatan Confederacy. The name was given to the stream, perhaps, because the tribe had a temporary village there, or because their path led to this creek and by way of it to the Delaware. The name in Lindeström means, "the creek of the Minquas, or Apoquenemas." Later the stream came to be known as Appoquinimink Creek, which means at the place of the creek of the *Apoquenemas* (i. e., "at the place, where the settlement can be seen." See above).

1. Appoquinimink Creek.

AROTHAMA PLANTAGE (L.).

Arothama seems to be a corruption of *arokamak, alokamak,* plantation (Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 145). If this is correct, the name apparently referred to an Indian cornfield or plantation, and Lindeström in that case translated the word by *plantage* (plantation).

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps.*

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[5] If Zeisberger and Brinton are correct, it is difficult to see how *Apelogakan* can mean "whence the messenger returned."

ARR-TI-HICK-ANNE,[58a] AR-TI-ICK-ANNE; ARRU-TI-HICKAN, ARR-TI-HICKAN-ING, ARR-TI-HICK-ANNE,

"the bullet mould creek;" *Arru-ti-hickan*, or *Arr-ti-hickan-ing* (*Arr-ti-ickan-ing*), "the bullet-mould bag," or "at the place of the bullet-mould bag," *i. e.*, where the bullet-mould was hidden or kept. (A cognate for bullet-mould in another dialect is *allums-hickan* (*arruns-hickan*); *allunsi-nuti* (*arrunsi-nuti*), shot bag, bullet bag, Brinton, *Dict.*, 18). Bars of lead were given to the

[58a] As this part of the manuscript was going to press, I received the following note from Dr. H. C. Mercer (see foot-note 57 under *Pleu-icke*):

"Hartyaken, or Hardyhickon. This pretty name was very familiar among members of my mother's family in my boyhood, ca. 1870, and generally well known in New Britain Township, Bucks County, as applied to that part of the North Branch of the Neshaminy Creek (or to a small rivulet entering the latter on its right bank) upon the property called 'The Highlands,' owned for several generations by my mother's (Stewart) family (that of the late Thomas MacIntosh Stewart of Philadelphia). The Indians might have applied the name to the whole stream, rather than to only the upper part of it, or the aforesaid little tributary. The word was always associated with the common myth of Indians finding gun lead for white hunters; all the more so, after the discovery of Galena ore, ca. 1860, about two miles down the North Branch, at a place thereafter transformed into a mining village, and still called 'New Galena.' See my *Notes Taken at Random*, Bucks County Hist. Society Papers, II, 123. I also wrote a note on the name Hartyaken, for the *Bucks County Intelligencer*, about 1895, but cannot find it.

Things are changing very rapidly and this singular name, which seems to me more interesting than 'Playwicky,' from its lead-association, may soon go forever. But I find, on enquiry this morning, that it still survives among the farmers near the place.

The tradition is very definite that some time about the end of the eighteenth century, Indians supplied white hunters with gun-lead, somewhere along the upper part of the stream [North Branch of the Neshaminy], which gun-lead must have consisted not of Galena Ore, but of lead ingots, bought from white traders by the Indians and hidden by them in the woods. . . .

The bullet hunt in about 1790 and the Galena Ore find about 1860, are very remarkable coincidences.

H. C. MERCER, Feb. 6, 1925."

Indians in trade and as presents (see above, p. 128), indicating the importance of the bullet-mould.

1. Hardyhickon Creek, name for the North Branch of the Neshaminy, Bucks County, Pa., or for part of it. 2. Hardyhickon Run, small rivulet on "The Highlands property," New Britain Township, Bucks County, Pa. (Dr. H. C. Mercer. See foot-note 5a, p. 307, above.

ASAMO HACKINGH (L.).

Asomoches was the name of a sub-tribe of the Lenapes, living in New Jersey, mentioned by early writers. *Asamo-*, + *hacki*, land, field, + *ing*, at, in, hence, means "at the field of the Asomoche-Indians." *Asamo-*, or *Asomo-* is likely the stem of a name for some animal or bird, as *Pleuin Playwicke*. Perhaps *asamo* means hog, hence, the name *Asamo-hacking* would mean "at the land of hogs;" and in that case the wild animal of this species was the totem animal of the tribe. See *Asamo Hackingh Kijl*.

ASAMO HACKINGH KIJL (L.).

As the creek was also called *Varkens kijl* (*Ferkens Kijl*),[5b] it seems likely that *Asamo is from* a stem meaning hog, pig, (cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 45; Zeisberger, *Dict.*, 95), + *hacki*, land, + *ing*, at, + *kijl*, creek, hence, "the creek at the land of hogs" (the creek of the Asomoche Indians), see *Asamo Hackingh* (L.).

1. Salem Creek, N. J.

[5b] For *Kijl*, see *Gansho-we-hanne*, foot-note 14. *Varken* (Dutch) means hog, pig.

ASOEPECKA[6] (L.).

Pecka is the stem in *papeek*, pond, pool (Br., 109), *nipeek*, lake (Zr., 110), hence, standing water,—the water at the place would not be flowing. *Asoe* may be the stem in *tscholens, cholens, asho*, bird (Br., 146; Zr., 24), hence, the bird pond, or the still water where the birds (water-fowl) stay or wade. Lindeström also calls it *Foglesandh*, bird-sand. See *Asoepecka eller Foglesandh* in list accompanying Lindeström's *Map* (A).

1. For location, see above, p. 155, note 11.

ASSAJUNGH (L.), ASSAYUNG.

Prof. Speck suggests that it might contain the stem of *ches*, clam, shell-fish (cf. Br., 31), + *ung*, at, hence, "at the place of shells from the clam."

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A).

ASSINPINCK AFFALLET (L.).

A in *affallet* is certainly a glide, which would be a usual development in colloquial Swedish (cf. *Calmare Nyckel*, etc.). The name written as one word would then be intelligible, thus: *Assinpink-affallet*. *Affallet* by itself means nothing; *fallet* means "the fall." The Indian word comes from *assin, aschsin, achsin*, rock, stone (Br., 13; Zr., 183), + stem *-napa-, -nippi-, -nipes-, -nawles-*, etc., pond, place of water, fresh water (Trumbull, *Names*, VIII, also p. 36), + *ing*, at, hence, "at the water on the rocks," + *fall* (Swed.),

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[6] *Asoepecka* may be made up of stem meaning to swim (Br., 23), + stem of *papek*, hence, "the swimming water," i.e., water that is more or less stagnant, as there was little or no current at that place in the river. See p. 155, note 11, above.

fall, + *-et* (Swed. def. encl. article), the, hence, "the water fall at the rocks."

1. Falls of the Delaware, Trenton, N. J.

ASSIN-P-INK, ASSI-NAP-INK, ASSUN-P-INK (cf. Hodge, *Handbook,* I, 105, and references there), meaning "at the stone creek." (See *Assinpinck affalet,* for derivation.)

1. An Indian tribe, living near and around Trenton, also called Stony Creek Indians (Proud, *Penn.,* II, 294). 2. District near Trenton, N. J.

ASSISK-UNK, ASSISK-ING,

"at the place of clay, or mud." *Assisku, assis-,* clay, mud (Br., 23; Zr., 37; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 162), + *unk, ing,* at. So designated, perhaps from the fact that the Indians obtained clay for their pottery on or near the creek. (Cf. *assiskwahos,* earthen pot; *assiskwohen,* to mix clay, Br., 23.)

1. Assiscunk Creek, Burlington, N. J.

ATTEKE, ADJIEGO, etc.

The word means "cloth, or clothing" (Heck.)

1. An Indian town at the mouth of French Creek, Venango County, Pa. (Cf. *Pa. Ar.,* I, 454.)

BISSACHTCON SIPPUSSINGH (L.).

It is likely that *Bissachtcon* is a cognate of *psakquicchen,* close together, near (Br., 120), + *sippus,* creek, + *ing*[7] at, hence, meaning "at the

[7] *Sippussing,* according to Campanius, means "a creek," "entrance [to a creek]," but the idea is undoubtedly "at the creek,"

creek, which is close to another creek" (*Mechansio Creek*).

1. Perhaps Blacks Creek. See list of names with Lindeström's *Map* (A).

BOMTIENS UDDEN (L.).

Perhaps from the stem of (or a corruption of) *pomoteneyu,* there are towns (Zr., 203), + *udden* (Swed.), the point, promontory, hence the meaning would be "at the point where there are towns, or houses."

1. Bombay Hook, Delaware.

CHECHSHIQUANNINK,

a tributary or vanquished race of people; the place where such live (Henry, *Names,* quoting Heckewelder); but this is undoubtedly a mistake. It is probably the same as *Sheshekwan,* which see.

CHEPIESSINGH ISLAND,

"plum island." (See *Mechansio Eijlandh;* above, p. 156, note 14; *Sipaessingsland.*)

1. Newbolds Island.

CHICHO-ACHINICAN,

Indian town, on Indian Creek in Chester County, Pa. Cf. *Chicho-hacki,* also *Checkachagin* (Tooker, *Names,* 40).

CHICHO-HACKI, TSCHICHO-POCKI. (Heck.)

Stem *kikic, kikey, chicho, t'chicho,* old, first (Br., 53; Zr., 134; Heck., *Names* 376). Hence,

Prof. Speck suggests that the name might come from *pskatigo,* forked, divided, hence, meaning "at the divided, or forked creek," an explanation that also fits, as the creek on Lindeström's *Maps* has a fork.

the word means "the first, or oldest planted ground" (Cf. *hakihakan,* plantation, Br., 47). It was so called, perhaps, because the Dutch made their first settlement on the Delaware on that spot. Heckewelder says that Indian tradition placed the first settlements of the Lenapes on the spot, when they emigrated here, hence the name. (Heck., *Names,* 376. Cf. Brinton, *Legends,* 138 ff. See *Tinnekoncks Eijlandh.*)

1. Chygoes Island[8] (possibly from Jegou),[8a] Bridlington, New Beverly, Burlington Island.

CHICKHANS-ING, TSHICKHANS-INK.

"The place where we were robbed." (Heck. *Names,* 356.) Cf. *Amentschjektin, amentshikten, amenchktin,* to rob (Br., 78). + *ink,* at, hence at the place of the robbery, so named, perhaps, from some big robbery on the spot. The name was retained in:

1. Chickhansink Creek, uniting with Hollander's Creek, Philadelphia County, Pa.

CHICKENUM-HANNE,

"turkey creek" (see *Chikenum-icke*).

1. Turkey Creek, Clarion County, Pa. 2. Turkey Ridge; Turkey City (and other names of places). 3. Turkey Hill (perhaps called *Chickenum-wachtshu* by the Indians. (Cf. Brinton, *Dict.,* 150.)

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[8] *Chugoes, Chygoes,* etc., was an Indian chief, according to Baker. See Hazard, *Annals,* I, 199.

[8a] Peter Jegou (Jegus). *Penn. Mag.,* X, 214–6.

CHICKENUM-ICKE,

"plenty of turkeys." *Tshickenum, chickenum,* turkey (Br., 145), + *icke,* plenty of (see *Pleuicke*).

1. Shickshinny Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 2. Shickshinny Boro., Luzerne County, Pa. (and other names). 3. Chicknicomika, N. J.

CHICKISWALUNGO,

"place of the crawfish" (Heck., *Names,* 374).

1. Chickisalunga Creek, Lancaster County, Pa. 2. Chiquis or Chickies, town in Lancaster County, Pa. 3. Salunga, town in Lancaster County, Pa. (See *Salunge.*)

CHILILISWAGI (?), ZILLY-SQUACHNE, etc.,

"the place of snowbirds"(?) (Heck., *Names,* 363).

1. Chillisquaque Creek, Northumberland County, Pa. 2. Chillisquaque town, Northumberland County, Pa.

CHINKALA-MOSE (?), CHIGLECOMOUCHE, CHINKIKLAMOOSE, SHINGLIMUCE, CHINGLEAMANK, etc.,

means "the cleared fields," so called because the buffaloes had destroyed the undergrowth "and left the face of the country as bare as though it had been cleared by the grub-axe." Cf. *Kshiechi,* clear (Br., 57), + stem of *moshiwi, moshachgeu,* etc., clear, naked, etc. (Br., 86–7). Cf. Ettwein, *Journal,* July 14, 1772; Post, *Journal,* Aug. 2, 1758; Scull's *Map.*

1. Clearfield Creek, Clearfield County. 2. Moose[9]

[9] Heckewelder is certainly mistaken in deriving Chinklacamoose Creek (the old name of Moose Creek) from *Achtschingi-clammo,*

Creek (Corruption or abbreviation of Chinklacamoose), Clearfield County, Pa. 3. Chindeclamoose Run, Clearfield County, Pa. 4. Chinklacamoose Indian Path. 5. Clearfield County, Pa. 6. Clearfield Town, Clearfield County, Pa., 7. Indian Village (Chinkala-mos-ing, Shinglimuce, etc., Post, *Journal,* Aug. 2, 1758; Scull's *Map*), on the spot of Clearfield, Clearfield County, Pa.

CHISHWA-PEKI, TSCHI-SCHWA-PEKI, K'TSCHI-SCHWA-PEEKI.

Kitschii, much, great, very (Br. 54), + the stem of *shewewa,* salted, (Br., 132), + *papek, nipek,* pond (Br., 109; Zr., 110), hence, a greatly salted body of standing water, pond or bay.

1. Chesapeake.

CHUCHNIADA, JUCHNIADA, SCHOKOONIADY, CHONIATA, etc. (Iroq.)

Cf. *Col. Rec.* (June 19, 1733) III, 503; Council of Onondago to Gov. Thomas, April 9, 1743.

1. Juniata River, "The best hunting ground for deer, elk, also for beaver, etc." (Heck.) 2. Indian Town, at present Bedford (?), Bedford County, Pa. (Heck., *Names,* 372).

CHUDENOOGO, CHOSONOLA.

(Cf. *Col. Rec.,* VII, 171). (Iroq.) "Where the sun shines out" (?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Choconot Creek, Susquehanna County, Pa.

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signifying, "it barely sticks together" (possibly he means it nearly joins), Heck., *Names,* 364. *Moose* is of course the last syllable of *Chinklacamoose.*

DAWA-SIMOCK, W'DALL-SIMOCK, W'DWA-SINOCK, signifying "cattle pasture, pasture grounds." (Heck., *Names*, 355. Cf. Zeisberger, *Dict.*, 34, 73; Brinton, *Dict.*, 152.)

1. Towsissimock Creek (called *Towsissink* Creek in Deed to Wm. Penn, July 15, 1682).[10] 2. Toamensing Township.[11] Carbon County, Pa.

EMBOLI, or EMBOL-INK.

An old Indian, born about 1680, informed Heckewelder that the place was called *Emboli*, as the spot resembled a bowl. Hence, *Embol-ink* would mean at the place of the bowl. It is possible, however, that *emboli* is not an Indian word at all, but an English derirative from bowl, adopted by the Indians who were in constant touch with the English. In that case *emboolhatton*, which is defined as "hollow it out;" is, perhaps from *emboli* (English bowl), + the Indian *hatton*, to put, to place; hence, "to make a bowl."[12] The Lenape word for bowl given by Brinton and Zeisberger is *Ptukquinschu* (*ptuchtschessu*, hollow, *ptukschummen*, to cut round, all from root

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[10] This name may come from *Kuwe(u)-sing*, *Kuwesis-sing*, *Kuweu*, *kuwe*, pine tree (Cf. *Kuweu-hanne*), + *ing*, at, hence, "at the pine trees." This derivation is strengthened by the Deed to Wm. Penn, July 15, 1682, which refers to the pine trees at the creek.

[11] The derivation of this is uncertain, unless it comes from *Moyamensing* (?), which see.

[12] It is, however, risky to assume that words are borrowed, even when the case seems clear. Thus it has been said that *tindey*, *tendi*, fire (Br., 142; Zr., 75) was borrowed from the English tinder, especially as the stem apparently does not occur in other Indian dialects. But the word (*tindi*, meaning fire) seems to be a Lenape word, as it was used by them during the early Swedish occupation, long before the English came in numbers. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 161.

p'tuk, round, carved, bent. Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 120; Zeisberger, *Dict.*, 26, 95, 162).

1. Amboy, N. J.

EKWIN-UNK, EQUIN-UNK,

"at the place where clothing was given."[13]

1. Equinunk Creek, Wayne County, Pa.

EQUIWI.

Cf. *Equiwi, ekwiwi, wekwe,* under, beneath (Zr., 209; Br., 34; also Williams, *Key;* Heck., *Names,* 377).

1. Acquia Creek, Maryland.

GANADAWA (Iroq.),

"running through the hemlocks" (?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Conolaways Creek, Franklin County, Pa.

GANAGEH (Iroq.),

"oil on the water" (?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Oil Creek, Venango County, Pa.

GANAWUNTA.

Heckewelder gives the word as *Guneunga* and says that it means "they stayed long;" but Henry, perhaps on the authority of Vogler, says: "Heckewelder mistakes this word. It is Iroquois . . . 'swift water.' The stream is in the Iroquois country." Henry, *Names.*

1. Conewanta Creek, Susquehanna County, Pa.
2. Swiftwater Creek, Pike County, Pa.

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[13] Cf. Heck., *Names*, 359; Henry, *Names.*

GANOGAT (?) (Iroq.),
"silver Lake" (Henry, *Names*).
1. Silver Lake, Luzerne County, Pa.

GANOW-UNGO, GUNEUNGA (Heck.), CONAWUNGE, etc.
"A long strip of land" (Heck.); but see Henry, *Names*, who says it means "in the rapids."
1. Conewingo Creek, Lancaster County, Pa. 2. An Indian town (Iroq.) at present Warren, Pa. (See Henry, *Names*.)

GANSHOWE-HANNE (Heck., *Names*, 355), GANSHOW-HANNE (Zr.), GONSHOWAYHONNAK (Vogler).
Ganshewen, guanshewell, to roar, to make a great noise (Br., 37; Zr., 160), + *hanne*, river, creek, hence, "the roaring river, or creek." Among others, the following streams were so named by the Indians:
1. Schuylkill[14] River, Schuylkill County, Pa. 2. Roaring Creek, Lycoming County, Pa. 3. Roaring Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 4. Roaring Run, Clearfield County, Pa.

GANSHOWE-HACKING.
Ganshewen, to roar, (see *Ganshowe-hanne*), +

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[14] In Swedish documents it is written *Schuijlkijlen* and *Skörkijlen*. Since the days of the early Dutch explorers Schuylkill has been derived from the Dutch, *Schuijl* (*schuil*), hidden (*schuijlen, schuilen*, to hide, to take shelter), + *kijl* (*kil*), river, creek, hence, meaning "the hidden river," or rather "(the river of) the hidden channel." *Kil* means channel in modern Dutch (cf. *de kil cene riviere* (1764), the channel of a river; the Dutch words for streams being, *broek*, brook; *kreek*, creek; *rivier*, river,—not always navigable, used by Lindeström; *stroom*, large, navigable river); but it (*kijl, kil*) was largely employed in the 17th century for river and creek and was adopted by the Swedes and English, —still retained in many words but with submerged meaning.

hacki, land, field, + *ing,* at, hence, "the field where it roars," or "where there is noise."

1. Conshohacking Hill, Montgomery County, Pa. Cf. [Smith], *Laws of the Com. of Penna.,* II, 110. "Maniunk . . . called Conshohockan." 2. Conshohocken Boro., Montgomery County, Pa.

GAOSAGEO (Iroq. word),
meaning "in the basswood country" (Henry, *Names*).

1. Cussewago Creek, Crawford County, Pa.

GASKOSADA (Iroq.),
"the falls"(?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Keshechetoes (Howell's *Map*), McKean County, Pa.

GATTAWISI,
signifying "to long for fat." (Heck., *Names*). Probably a place where animals found much food, the grazing grounds of the deer (?). Cf. *Gattamen,* to long for (Br., 38), + *wisu* (*wese*), fat (Br., 163).

1. Catawissa Creek, Columbia County, Pa. 2. Catawissa Township (and other names).

GATTOS-HACKI, CATISUK, CATADAQUA, and other forms.

Gattossomoin, gattosomuin, to thirst (Zr., 196; Br., 38), + *hacki,* earth, hence, meaning dry or thirsting land; applied also to small streams that dry up in summer.

1. Catasauqua Creek (from the old corrupted form, *Catadaqua*), Northampton County, Pa.

2. Also Mill Creek, Northampton County, Pa. (See Scull's and Howell's *Maps.*)

GAWANASEGEH (?), CAWICHNOWANE (Iroq.), "long island" (Henry, *Names;* Scull's *Map*).

1. Long Island, in the west branch of the Susquehanna, Lycoming County, Pa., at mouth of Nipponose Creek.

GAWUNSH-ESKWE, GAWUNSH-ESQUE.

Gawunsh, brier (Zr., 28), + *esque, eske, ecke,* covered with, full of, or partaking of, hence, "the brier place," "the place full of briers."

1. Cowanesque Creek, Tioga County, Pa.

GAWUNSCH-HANNE (-HANNEK, -HANNOK), GAWUNSCH-HANNE (Heck., *Names,* 366).

Gawunsch, gawunsh, brier, "green brier" (Zr., 28) + *hanne* (*hannek*), river, or creek, hence, "the brier creek, or "at the brier creek."

1. Cawanshannock Creek, Armstrong County, Pa. 2. Clarion River (Toby's Creek), Clarion County, Pa. 3. Green Brier Creek, Northumberland County, Pa.

GENNESHEYO (Iroq.), "the beautiful valley"(?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Genesee River, Potter County, Pa.

GENTIKAN, GENTICAN, GENTKEN, etc.

Gentgen, gintkan, jentken, jantiko, gentage, etc., dance (Br., 40; Zr., 51), hence, signifying "dancing," "the dancing place" (name of the activity used for the place). Cf. *Kentkateck* (L.).

1. Quantico, Virginia.

GICHT-HANNE,
same as *Kit-hanne*, "the great river." The largest river in any section of the country was called *Kit-(Gicht-)hanne*; thus the Delaware, the Schuylkill, the Susquehanna, the Ohio, etc., were called by this name by tribes living on those rivers. See *Kit-hanne*.

GISHGU-MANITO.
Gishgu, day (Zr., 52), + *manito*, big spirit. Perhaps the name is connected with some religious ceremony that occurred at the place. It has also been suggested that it means "to make day light" (Heck., *Names*, 366).
1. Kiskiminetas or Conemaugh Creek, dividing Indiana and Armstrong Counties from Westmoreland County, Pa.

GISHI-CHGAK-WALIS,
signifying "snakes in dens" (Heck., *Names*, 373). *Gishi*, already, + *achgook*, snakes, + *walien*, in dens.
1. Kishacoquillas Creek, Mifflin County, Pa. 2. Kishacoquilla Valley Railroad (and other names).

GISHIECHTON.
Gishiecken, completed, ready, finished (Br., 43; Heck., *Names*, 362). The place was so-called, perhaps, from the fact that some important treaty or other act was completed there.
1. Coshecton Creek, Susquehanna County, Pa.

GOKHOS-ING.
Gokhas, *gakhas*, owl, (Zr., 137; Br., 45), + *ing*, at, hence, "at the place of the owl."

1. Cocoosing Creek, Berks County, Pa. 2. Owl Creek, Schuylkill County, Pa. (Henry, *Names*).

GUNACH-KWENE-SINK (?),
"a long straight path" (Heck. *Names*, 366). Cf. *Guneu, gunaquot,* long (Br., 45 6; Zr., 116), + *schachachgeu,* straight (Br., 125), + (*s*)*ink,* where, at, hence, this name was, perhaps, given with reference to its straight course. The name is possibly not compounded with *schachachgeu, shachachgeu,* but means simply "at the long place" (*Gunakwot-ing*).

1. Conodogwinet Creek, McKean County, Pa. 2. Conoquenessing Creek, Butler County, Pa. 3. Indian Town on Conoquenessing Creek, mentioned by Post, *Journal.*

GUNE-SHACH-ACHGAK-HANNE,
"the great bend river" (Henry, *Names*).[15]

1. Susquehanna River. It was also called *Mechwenwami-sipu,* "the large plains river" (Heck.) Cf. *Kweni-shashacki.*

GATTALOSSO, QUATALOSI, etc.
Meaning uncertain.

1. Gattalossa, or Quatalossi, Indian Town, see article by Buck on *Cattalossa* (1873), 2. *Cattalossa* Creek, Bucks Co., Pa. See Henry, *Names.*

GUNEU-HANNE, GUNA-HANNE.
Gunaguneu, long (see *Gunach-kwene-sink*), + *hanne,* creek.

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[15] The word undoubtedly means the long bending river *Guna,* long (see *Gunach-kwene-sink*), + stem of *woaksohachne,* bend in a river (Br., 165), + *hanne,* river.

1. Conoy Creek, Lancaster County, Pa. 2. Long Run, Westmoreland County, Pa. 3. Indian town on Conoy Creek, near the Susquehanna River, perhaps called *Gune-sing (Conesing)* "at the long place."

GUNEU-KICHIWI, GUNEUKITSCHIWI, GUNEU-KITSHIK, GUNEA-KITCH-ING, etc.

Gunih, guneu, long (Br. 45–6; Zr., 116), + *kitschiwi, kichiwi,* indeed, truly, (Br., 54; Zr., 102), hence, "long indeed, very long indeed." (Heck., *Names,* 373). Some place on the creek so named from the fact, perhaps, that it was a long way distant from some Indian village on a path to the stream.

1. Conococheague Creek, Franklin Co., Pa.

GUNE-UNGA, GANE-UNGO.

Gunih, long while (Zr., 116; Br., 46), + *unga,* they stay (?), signifying, "they stay long" (Heck., *Names,* 365). This name was perhaps applied to a district, then transferred to the river (*Gune-unga-sipu*). It has been said that Conewanta in Conewanta County and Conewanta Creek in the county of that name also comes from *Gune-unga,* but this seems doubtful.

1. Conewango Creek, Warren County, Pa. (and other names).

GUN-AMOCHKI, GON-AMOCK-ING,

"at the place of the otter." *Gunaquot, gunaguneu,* long (Zr., 116; Br., 45–6), + *amochk,* beaver (Zr., 20), hence, the long beaver, meaning the otter, + *ing,* at. The name of the place was transferred to the stream.

1. Conemough Creek, dividing Armstrong and Indiana Counties. (See Kiskiminetas Creek.) 2. Little Conemaugh Creek, Cambria County, Pa. (This was, perhaps, called *Tang-gun-amochk-hanne.*) 3. Conemaugh Town, Cambria County, Pa. (and other names).

GUN-AMOCHK-HANNE,

"otter creek. *Gun-amochk,* otter (see *Gun-amochki*), + *hanne,* creek.

1. Gunner's Run (perhaps a corruption of *Gunamochk*), Philadelphia County, Pa. 2. Otter's Creek.[15] 3. Otter's Run (?), York County, Pa.

GUNEIAGE, GANOWAGA, etc. (Iroq.),

"a rapid stream" (?) (Henry, *Names*). It is said that Iroq. Indians lived there.

1. Conewago Creek, Lancaster County, Pa. 2. Conewago town, Lancaster County, Pa. (and other names).

GUNE-P'DUCK-HANNEK, GUNE-P'TUCK-HANNECK, GUNNI-P'DUCK-HANNET,

"for a long way continual bends" (Heck., *Names,* 373). Cf. *guneu, gunaquot,* long (Br., 45, 46), + *p'tukhanne,* bend in a river, or, a bending river (Br., 120), hence, "a long bending river," or "a river full of bends."

1. Connedoguinet River, Cumberland County, Pa.

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[15] Otter's Creek at Bristol is, perhaps, called after John Otter. See Holme's *Map.*

GUSDEGO (?) (Iroq.),
"under the rocks" (?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Cadores Creek, York County, Pa.

HACKACZOCKAN (L.).[16]
For probable meaning see *Hacken-saquick*.

1. Common Creek, empties into the Delaware River, below Tullytown.

HACKINK-SAQUICK,[17] HACKING-SACKEN, HACKING-SACK-ING, HACKEN-SACK, HACKINKASACKINGHS, ACKIN-SACK, ACKKINKAS-HACKY, etc.,
meaning uncertain. It was the name of an Indian chief, *Hackquinsacq.*, etc., besides being applied to an Indian village and to two districts in New Jersey, as well as to a river, the Hackensack, and an Indian Tribe of the Unami. Perhaps the word is from the stem *hocquon, hockwan,* hook, (Br., 49; Zr., 96; cf. also Ruttenber, *Names*, 104–5, quoting Trumbull), + the stem, *sank, sakuwit, sakunk, sakwik, sakwihillak*, etc., mouth of a river (Br., 124; Zr., 127; Ruttenber, *Names*, 105), hence, "the hooked-mouth"; with *sipu* "the hooked-mouth creek."

1. Hackensack River, N. J. (and other names).

HACKI-UNDOCHKWE.[18]
Cf. *hacki*, land, + *undochwen*, to come for a purpose (Zr., 151), hence, land "where you come

[16] This name was written Hatoorackan Creek in 1680 and is identified by Armstrong as Scott's Creek. See Armstrong, *Rec.*, 185, 203, note E. But cf. *Sipaessings Kijl.*

[17] Heckewelder says that it means a "stream that unites with another on low ground." Cf. *Ackkinkas-hacki*, Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 519. For name cf. *Doc.*, XII, XIII, 153, 294, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 105, etc.

[18] Heckewelder gives it as *Hackeundochwe*, "they are searching for land." (Heck., *Names*, 358.)

for a purpose," indicating a fertile district, where people come to hunt or otherwise. (See Eastburn's *Map* (1740).)

1. Hockendauqua Creek, Northampton County, Pa. 2. Hockendauqua (Town), Northampton County, Pa.

HACKOMENE HACKINGH (L.).[13]

Perhaps from *achquoanemen*, to fish with baskets (Br., 13; Zr., 75), + *hacki*, land, + *ing*, at, — hence, meaning "at the place where fish are caught with baskets."

1. District about Big and Little Timber Creeks, N. J.

HICKAN-HANNE.

Hickan, the end of the flow, + hanne, creek, hence, "the creek at the end of the tidewater;" also in certain localities meaning "the ebb tide creek."

1. Hickon Creek, Bucks County, Pa.

HOPOKANG, HOPOAKAN-HACKING.

Hopoakan, tobacco-pipe (Zr., 143; Br., 49; *potatikan* was a pumpkin-stem pipe, Br., 119), + *haki, hacki*, land + *ing*, at, hence, signifying "at the land or place of the tobacco-pipe." For occurrence of the name in early deeds and records, see Ruttenber, *Names*, 107–8; but Ruttenber's derivation is not correct.

1. Hoboken, N. J. 2. Lake Hopatcong, N. J. (and other names).

[13] The words might mean: "at the tall timber land" (Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 13, 47), which will account for the name of the creeks.

HOPOKAN-SIPUS.

Hopoakan, tobacco pipe (see *Hopoakan-hacking*). + *sipus,* creek, hence, "the tobacco pipe creek."

1. Hermsprota (?) Creek, a branch of Darby Creek, Delaware County, Pa. (Henry, *Names.*)

HAPPAMÄO ELLER PLOMMON ÖÖ (L.),

"*Happamäo* or Plum Island." From Lindeström's translation, it is clear that *Happamäo, happameo,* means plum. *Pachhamawo, pockhgama,* cognates in other dialects, mean "wild red plum" (Br., 105).

1. The small island below Duck Island.

HOPPENISINK, HOBBENISINK (Heck.).

Hobbenak, hoppenak, potato[20] (Zr., 146), + *ink,* at, where, hence, "where there are potatoes," or "at the potato plantation." This word, applied to several localities by the Indians, has been retained (though corrupted) and in some instances translated as follows:

1. Hoppeny Creek, Wyoming County, Pa. 2. Potato Creek, McKean County, Pa. 3. It was also the name of an Indian village on the Meshoppen Creek, Luzerne County, Pa.

HOSOHAKA (Iroq.),

"over the creek(?)" (Henry, *Names*).

1. Hosesack Creek, Montgomery County, Pa.

HWISKAKIMENSI (L.),

"the grape vine tree." *Wisachgim,* wild grapes (Br., 162. Cf. *wisachgank,* brandy, "from the

[20] See *Mech-oppenack-han,* note 33.

sharp, biting taste," *wisachgissi,* to hurt), + *minshi, mensi,* tree (see *Tuckwi-mens-ing,* for derivation. Brinton's form for "wild vine" is *wisachgiminschi,* really "grape tree," Br., 162). The place was so called from the abundance of grape vines there. Cf. above, p. 178.

1. Ferris (*Settlements,* 293) says that *Hwiskakimensi* is Red Clay Creek, Chester County, Pa., but that is doubtful. It was probably the name of the place rather than the creek.

IMMINICKHECK HACKINGH (L.).

Imminickheck, island (Speck), + *hacki,* land, + *ing* (ink), at, in, hence, "on the land at the island." It seems possible, however, that the word might stand for Brinton's *menach-kah,* fence rail, + *hacki,* land, + *ing,* at, hence, it would mean "at the land of the fence rails," the place where the Swedes cut fence-rails.

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps.*

KAGKIKANIZACKIENS SIPPUS (L.),

probably meaning "the creek at the place of the one with the crooked mouth." (Cf. *Hackinksaquick*). As Lindeström also says, "or old-man's creek," it probably referred to an old chief living on the creek, whose face and mouth were wrinkled and deformed from old age, hence, "old man's creek," or "the creek of the one with the wrinkled mouth."

KAGKIKANIZACHIEN (L.),

"the crooked mouth," or "the place of the one with a crooked mouth."(?) (See *Kaghikanzackiens Sippus.*) A creek (*Pumatuning*) in

Pennsylvania is said by Heckewelder to have been called after a man "with a crooked mouth." See Reichel, *Names,* 39.

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps.*

KAKIMENSJ (KAKIMENSI) (L.),
possibly "the old or large tree." Keki, *kagi,* large, old, + *mensi, minshi,* etc., tree.

1. For location see Lindeström's *Maps.*

KALLAPATSHINK,
signifying, according to Heckewelder, "where it returns," an allusion to a point in the creek's course where it bends back. Cf. *apatchin,* to return (Br., 22).

1. Yellow Breeches Creek, dividing Cumberland and York Counties, Pa.

KANOKANICK (L.).[21]
Perhaps from *kano* (cf. *gunagen, gunaquot, gunageu, gunaxu, kunaksu,* etc.), long (Br., 45; Zr., 116), + *kamik,* house, planted land (Speck), hence, meaning the long house, or the long field.

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A).

KASKASKI, CASCASKIE, etc.
Indian towns (four in number) "on Little Beaver, or Mahoning, now in Lawrence County, Pa." (See Howell's *Map;* Weisser, *Journal,* Aug. 29, 1748; Post, *Journal,* Aug. 12, 1758).

KASKASK-SIPU (Heck., *Names,* 307)
The river so called from the Indian villages on its banks.

[21] This may be the same as *Konkhung-anik,* etc., meaning, "at the boundary," or "to the line," Tooker, *Names,* 84–5.

1. Beaver River, Beaver County, Pa. (It is likely that the Indians at times also called the stream *Amock-sipu,* "beaver river." Cf. *Ketamakwe-hanne,*[22] *Amochk-hanne.*)

KEKACHTENEMIN,

"endless mountains"(?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Blue Mountain.

KENTKATECK (L.).

Gentgoat, kentkat (*gentgen,* to dance), dancer (Zr., 51; Br., 40), + *eck,*[23] at (?), hence, "at the place of the dancer;" so named, perhaps, from the fact that dances were held on the island. Cf. *Gentikan.*

1. Moon Island (?) in the Delaware.

KENTSHUAK, KINCHIKUAK,

signifying, "they gobble" (Heck., *Names,* 364). The place was apparently "full of wild turkeys." Cf. *Tschikenum, chikenum, sickenem,* turkey (Zr., 206; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 175).

1. Kinzua Creek, McKean County, Pa. 2. Kinzua Creek, Warren County, Pa. 3. Kinzua Township, Warren County, Pa. (and other names).

KETAMAKWE-HANNE, K'TEMEKWE-HANNE,

"beaver stream." *K'temakwe,* beaver (Br. 58;

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[22] But Heckewelder says that he never heard the stream called by any other name than "Kaskask-sipu, from the town of Kuskuschki," Heck., *Names,* 24.

[23] *-eck* may be the plural, hence meaning "the dancing places."

the word for beaver in another dialect is *amockh*), + *hanne,* river, stream.

1. Little Schuylkill, Schuylkill County, Pa.

KIKIMENSKIJL (L.).

Meaning is uncertain. It may be a cognate of *gihiman, kikiman,* to admonish, hence mean "the creek (*kijl*) of admonition," so named from some occurrence, speech by a chief, or other event, which took place on its bank. It is also possible that *Kikimeni* was the name of a chief or village (derivation as above) which gave the designation to the creek.[24]

1. Neshaminy Creek, Bucks County, Pa. See *Nisha-mening.*

KIKISHKOTAM, KIGISHKOTAN, KIGISCHGOTAN, signifying "green grasshopper;" cf. *Kigish-gotum* (Zr., 86).

1. Kigischgotam.

KIKICHIMUS,[25] KIKITSHIMUS, "wood duck" (Heck., *Names*). Cf. *Uchschi-huwe,* duck, (Zr., 62).

1. Crum Creek, Delaware County, Pa.

KINSISSINGH[26] (L.), Kingses-sing.

Kin, quin, large (Zr., 110; Br., 122; etc.), + *ehes,*

[24] Perhaps it is composed of *kiki,* old, large, + *mensi, minshi,* tree, hence, "the creek of the old tree," from the fact that some exceptionally old or large tree stood on the banks of the creek.

[25] *Kikichimus* was probably corrupted by the Swedes into *Krokekijlen,* "crooked creek," just as the French corrupted *quinnitchuan, kwennichuan,* into *quinze chiens* (fifteen dogs), and later invented a story to explain the name.

See Abbé Ferland, *Cours d' Histoire du Canada,* I, 163, Note 2.

[26] Henry says in one place that *Kingsissing, Chencissink,* means "fort or stronghold;" in another that it means "a bog meadow." (Henry, *Names.*)

shell (Br., 31), + *ing,* hence, the place of large shells.

1. Kingsessing, West Philadelphia, Pa.

KIT-HANNE,
the main, or large river in any locality, as the Delaware, the Schuylkill, the Ohio, the Susquehanna, etc. *Kit- kid-, gicht,* large, main, + *-hanne,* river, stream. (See *Gicht-hanne.*)

KIT-TANN-ING, KIT-HANN-ING,
"at the big river." See *Kit-hanne.*

1. Indian town, Kittaning, in Armstrong County, Pa. (Destroyed by Col. Armstrong in 1756.) 2. Kittanning Path, "the path of the great river" (see *Kit-hanne*); on Scull's *Map* it is called the Ohio Path, as the Ohio was the big river beyond. 3. Kittanning Boro, Armstrong County, Pa. 4. Kittatinny Mountains (and other names).

KOIJÄKÄ (KOYEKE) (L.).
A district on the south bank of Christina (Christiana) Creek, opposite Fort Christina. The name may have the stem of *Kuwe,* pine tree, and mean "the pine tree place."

KONEYAHERA (?), CONNEJAHERA, etc.
Indian plantation, near Conestoga.

KOO-MENAKANO-KONCK. (Heck., *Names.*)
See *Matinck-onck,* for derivation.

1. Burlington Island, N. J.

KRIJKON ÖÖ (L.).
Krikon ö (Swed.), "plum island." Plum trees apparently grew on the island, hence Linde-

ström's name. The Indians may have called it *Sipaessing.*

1. Perhaps Bar Island, or Duck Island, in the Delaware.

KUIT-PEHELLE, KUWET-PEHELLE, KWIT-PEHELLE, QUITOPAHILLA, etc.

Kuweu, kuwe, pine tree (see *Kuweu-hanne*), + stem for spring or fountain (*ehelilamank,* well, spring, fountain, Br., 30), hence, signifying "a pine spring, or fountain," *i. e.,* a spring that flows from the ground among pines, here the creek that is fed by springs among the pines.

1. Quitopahilla Creek, Lebanon County, Pa.

KUWE(U)-HACKING (Heck., *Names,* 357).

Kuweu, pine tree (see *Kuweu-hanne*), + *hacki,* land, field, + *ing,* at, hence, "at the pine land," or "in the pine forest."

1. Cohocksing Creek, Philadelphia County, Pa. 2. Showhacking Creek, or Martin Creek, or Smally's Creek, Northampton County, Pa. 3. Cohocksink.

KUWEU-HANNE, KUWE-HANNEK.

Kuweu, kuwe (*p'kuweu,* it is sticky, alluding to the resin of the pine, meaning pine wood), pine tree (Zr., 143; Br., 28, 59), + *hanne,* creek, hence, "pine tree creek," or "a creek flowing through a pine forest." This Indian name was then translated into English as:

1. Pine Creek, Lycoming and Clinton Counties, Pa. 2. Pine Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 3. Pine Creek, Warren County, Pa. 4. Pine Creek, Schuylkill County, Pa. 5. Pine Run, Westmore-

land County, Pa. 6. Pine Run, Bucks County, Pa.

KUWEUCKAK-ING, CUWEU-CKEEK-ING (Heck.).

Kuweuchak, kuweuckek, pine wood (Br., 59; Zr., 143), + *ing,* at, in, hence, "in the pine wood." (Cf. *Kuwe-hack-ing*).

1. Quakake Creek, Carbon County, Pa. The settlers transferred the name of the district to the creek. The Indians undoubtedly called the stream *Kuwe-hanne,* "pine creek." 2. Quakake, Schuylkill County, Pa. (and other names).

KUWEU-KWAN-AKU, CUWE-QUEN-AKU (Heck., *Names,* 355), COAQUANNOCK (Wm. Penn and others. See Proud, *Hist.,* I, 210).

Kuweu, pine (see *Kuweuhanne*), + *gunaquot, kunakwot,* tall (Zr., 191; Br., 45), + *haku,* wood, hence, "the wood of tall pines," "grove of tall pines."

1. Philadelphia. The Indians referred to Philadelphia by this name as long as they were in the East. See Henry, *Names.* 2. An Indian village on Pegg's Run,[27] Philadelphia County, Pa.

KUWEU-MAHONING,

signifying "the pine trees at the salt lick," or "at the pine tree salt lick." *Kuweu, kuwe,* pine tree (Br., 59; Zr., 143), + *mahoni, mahony,* salt lick (Zr., 114), + *ing,* at.

1. Quemahoning Creek, Somerset County, Pa. 2. Quemahoning Township, Somerset County, Pa. (and other names).

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[27] Pegg's Run (so-called from Daniel Pegg. *Col. Rec.,* I, 78). When the Indians referred to this run, they said *Kuwe-kwa-nakuhanne* ("the stream in the land of the tall pines").

KUWEU-PUNGA, KUWEU-PONKA,
signifying, "the pine-wood ashes." The place, perhaps, so named from the fact that a forest fire had burned a large number of pines there; or perhaps the natives had cleared the place by burning the pine trees, leaving a lot of ashes. *Kuweu, kuwe,* pine tree (Br., 59; Zr., 143), + *punck, punk, ponk,* ashes, powder (Br., 119, 120; Zr., 14; Lindeström, *Geographia,* 203, above), hence,

1. Queponco, Maryland.

KWENI-SHASHACKI, QUENISCHASCHACKI, QUENIS-CHACHACHGEK-HANNE (Heck.).

Kwen, quin, kwin, long (Zr., 116; Br., 121–2; cf. *Gun-amochk-ing*), + *schashackki, schachachgeu,* straight (Br., 125; Zr., 184), hence, signifying "a long, straight river." (*Shachachgachne* means a straight course in a river, Br., 125.) This name was given particularly to the West Branch of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County.

1. Susquehanna River (and other names).

KWIKWINGUS-HANNE,
"duck creek." *Kwikwingus, quiquingus,* large duck (Zr., 110; *Hwijquinck,* ducks, Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 164), + *hanne,* creek. (*Kwikwingus-ing,* "at the place of the large duck.")

1. Duck Creek (in old deeds called *Quing Quingus*). 2. Hollender's Creek, Philadelphia, Pa. (See Henry, *Names.*)

KWILUTAMEND (Kwilutam-ing ?), QUILUTAMEND, QUEILOOTAWA (*Col. Rec.*, VII, 66; *Pa. Ar.*, III, 736),

signifying "where we came unawares upon them." A place where the Lenapes surprised and captured a body of Minquas. (Heck., *Names*, 361.) The name was later applied to the creek (Queelootawa).

1. Tuscarora Creek, Wyoming County, from the Indians of that name, supplanting the old appellation. The Tuscaroras had a village on the creek in the first half of the 18th Century. Henry, *Names*.

LAWEL-HANNE, LAWIEL-HANNE, LOWE-HANNE.

Lelawi, lawi-, lawe-, middle (Zr., 123; Br., 62, 63), + *hanne*, creek, hence, "middle creek."

1. Loyalhanna Creek, Westmoreland County, Pa. (and other names). 2. Middle Creek, Somerset County, Pa. 3. Middle Creek,[28] Lancaster County, Pa. 4. Middle Creek, Wayne County, Pa.

LAWI-SAQUICK, LAWIL-SAKWICK.

Lawi, middle (Zr., 123; Br., 62), + *saquick, sakuick*, water (?) (Zr., 222), or *sakuwit*, mouth of a creek (Br., 124), hence, perhaps, "the middle water, or mouth," *i. e.*, the creek between two other creeks. (Cf. *Lawel-hanne*.)

1. Loyalsock Creek, Lycoming County. 2. Loyalsock, town, Lycoming County, Pa. (and other names).

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[28] Henry says the Indian name was *Legawi-hanne* (Henry, *Names*); but this is certainly a mistake, for *legawi, lekau*, means sand, gravel (see *Legawi-hanne*).

LECHAU-HANNE, LECH-HANNE, etc.

Lechau-, fork (see *Lechauwe-sink*), + *hanne*, creek, river, hence, the forked river.

1. Lehigh River. 2. Lehigh Valley. 3. Lehigh County (and other names).

LECHAUWAK-HANNEK, LECHAU-HANNEK, LAHHAWONAI (?) (see *Col. Rec.*, VII, 189).

Lechauwak, fork, division, + *hanne*, river, + *ek* pl.?), hence, signifying "the division or forks of a stream." (Br., 62.)

1. Lackawannock Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 2. Lackawanna County, Pa. 3. Lackawanna Railroad (and other names).

LECHAUWEK-ING, LACHAUWIECH-INK, LECHAUWEKIK-ING, LECHAUWIT-ANK,[29] LECHAWANN-INK (Howell's *Map*), etc.

Lechauwak, lachau, lechauwoak, a fork, + *ing* (*ink*), at, where, (Br., 62), hence, signifying, "at the fork."

1. Indian town, situated at or near present Easton, Pa. 2. Lehigh River sometimes referred to by this longer name (*Lechauwekhanne*), meaning "the river having a fork." (Cf. *Lechau-hanne.*)

LECHAUWE-SINK, LECHAUWAK-SING.

Lechauwak, fork, + *echen*, road + (*s*)*ing*, at (with a glide, Zr., 78; Br., 56, 62), hence, signifying "at the forks of the road."

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[29] Heckewelder gives this form and defines it as "the town within the forks." (Heck., *Names*, 357.)

1. Lackawaxen Creek, Pike County, Pa. 2. Lackawaxen Township, Pike County, Pa. (and other names).

LEGAU-MISKSA, LEKAU-MIKSA.

Legau, lekou, sand, gravel (Zr., 164; Br., 62), + *miksa,* soil, hence, "sandy soil" (Cf. Heck., *Names,* 357).

1. Lackamissa Creek. 2. Lackamissa Hill (also called Lahaska Hill; see *Lehaskeke*).

LEGAWI-HANNE, LEKAUI-HANNE.

Legau, sand, gravel (Br., 62), + *hanne,* creek, hence, "gravel or sand creek," *i. e.,* a creek flowing in sand or gravel. See *Legaw-ing.*

1. Sandy Creek, Venango County, Pa. 2. Sandy Run, Montgomery County, Pa. 3. Big Sandy Creek, Fayette County, Pa. (and other names).

LEGAWI-MAHONI, LEKAUI-HONI.

Lekau, legay, sand, gravel (Zr., 164; Br., 62). + *mahoni,* lick, hence, meaning "the sandy lick." This name was translated by the settlers and transferred to the creek near the "lick."

1. Sandy Lick Creek, Venango County, Pa. (and other names).

LEGAW-ING, LEKAU-ING (Scull's *Map* has *Lycaumick*).

Legau, lekau, sand, gravel (Zr., 164; Br., 62), + *ing,* at, hence, "at the place of sand." This name was probably applied to an Indian village on the creek. The creek itself was perhaps called *Legawi-hanne* by the Indians.

1. Lycoming Creek, Lycoming County, Pa. 2. Lycoming County, Pa. (and other names).

LEGAWI-PEK,
"sandy lake." See *Legawi-hanne* and *Tuppek-hanne.*
1. Sandy Lake, Mercer County, Pa.

LEHASKEKE, LEHASKE-KING.
Probably containing the stem meaning to write (*lekhasik,* written, Br., 62), + *eke,* much, hence, "the place of much writing;" probably so-called because some treaty or parley took place there.
1. Lehaskekee Creek, Bucks County, Pa. (now Lahaska Creek). 2. Lahaska Hill (formerly called Lackamissa Hill; see *Legau-miksa*). 3. Lahaska Valley, Bucks County, Pa. 4. "Name given to an old village S. E. of present village of Centerville" (Col. H. D. Paxson). This was probably the site of an Indian town. 5. Lahaska Village, Bucks County, Pa. (and other names).

LENAPE-WIHITTNEK,
signifying "the river of the Lenapé Indians" (Heck., *Names,* 355).
1. Delaware River. See *Kit-hanne.*

LENAPEK,
"the pond of the Lenapés (see *Tuppek-hanne*).
1. Lake Lenape, small lake or pond at Delaware Water Gap, Monroe County, Pa.

MACHEU-OMI-HANNE, MECHE-WEAMI-SIPU.
Macheu, mecheu, mechek, great, large, extensive (Zr., 70, 77; Br., 23, 68), + *weami, omi, flat* (Heck.), + *hanne,* or *sipu,* river, hence, "the river of large or extensive flats."
1. Wyoming County, Pa. 2. Wyoming Valley. 3. Wyoming Creek, Wyoming County, Pa. 4.

Susquehanna River, especially the North Branch. 5. Indian village about a mile below Wilkes-Barre, Pa. (Henry, *Names*).

MACHK-ACHSIN, MACHK-ACHSEN-ING.

Machkeu, red (see *Machk-achsin-hanne*), + *achsin,* stone (Br., 68; Zr., 183), hence, "red stone" (or with *ing,* "at the red stone").

1. Prospect Hill, or Mattakin Hill, near Skippack Hill, Montgomery County, Pa.

MACHK-ACHSIN-HANNE.

Machkeu, mackseck, red (Br., 68; Zr., 156; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 162), + *achsin,* stone (Br., 13; Zr., 183), + *hanne,* stream, hence, the English names, which are translations of the Indian:

1. Redstone Creek, Fayette County, Pa. 2. Redbank Creek, Clarion County, Pa. (Called Weshamaucks Creek in Post, *Journal.*) 3. Mashilmac Creek, Montgomery County, Pa.

MACHK-ACHSIN-INK(-ING),

"at the red stone" (see *Machk-achsin* and *Machkachsin-hanne*), + *ing,* at.

1. The name of an Indian village. 2. Red Bank (City), N. J.

MACHKI-M'BI, MACKKE-MABI.

Machkeu, red (Zr., 156; Br., 68), + *m'bi,* water (Br., 76; Zr., 222; Campanius, *Cate*), hence, signifying "red, or reddish water."

1. Mackiapier, N. J.

MACHK-SIT-ANE, MACHK-ANE, MACHK-ET-ONE, etc.

Machk, mackh, machque, bear (Br., 69; Zr., 20; Holm., *Kort Beskrifning,* 163), + *aney, ene, ana,*

path (Br., 21; Zr., 140; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 166), hence, signifying "the bear path," "the stream along which bears have a path" (cf. Heck., *Names*, 360).

1. Maxatawny Creek,[30] Berks County, Pa.
2. Maxatawny Township, Berks County, Pa.

MACHK-SIT-HANNE, MACHK-SET-ANNE, MACHK-TSHA-HANNE, MACHK-CHAT-ANNE, etc.

Machk, bear (see *Machk-sit-ane*), + *hanne*, creek, hence, "bear creek."

1. Bear Creek, Schuylkill County, Pa. 2. Bear Creek, Butler County, Pa. 3. Bear Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 4. Bear Creek, Lycoming County, Pa. 5. Bear Creek, Armstrong County, Pa.

MACHK-T'CHUNK (Heck., *Names*, 358), MACHK-ACHUNG, MACHK-WACHT'CH-UNK, etc.

Machk, machque, bear (Zr., 20; Br., 69), + *wacht'chu*, hill, mountain (Br., 150; Zr., 94, 126), + *ung*, where, on, at, hence, signifying "at the bear mountain," or "a mountain where there are bears."

1. Mauch Chunk, Carbon County, Pa. (and other names).

MACHK-SIT-ANE, MACHK-ANE, MACHK-ET-ONE, etc.

Machque, machk, bear (Zr., 20; Br., 69), + *untschi*, of, with (Br., 149), hence, "referring to bears," "the place of bears," "the feeding place

[30] It may, however, be a corruption of *Machk-sit-hanne*, in which case it would mean "bear creek."

of bears'' (Heck., *Names,* 357). (*Machkwecke,* (?), plenty of bears, full of bears.)

1. Macungie Township, Lehigh County, Pa.

MACKOK-HANNE, MIZHACK-HANNE,

(for other forms of the name of the creek, see Evans' *Map,* 1749; Scull's *Map,* 1770; Howell's *Map,* 1792). The name means ''a squash, or other hard-shelled vegetable'' (Henry, *Names,* quoting Heckewelder).

1. Macoby Creek, Montgomery County, Pa. (The early name was Squash Creek.)

MAHON-HANNE, MAHON(I)-SIPUS,

''licking, or salt lick creek'' (a creek flowing near a salt lick, see *Mahoni*), hence, the English names:

1. Licking Creek, Bedford County Pa. 2. Licking Creek, Juniata County, Pa. 3. Licking Creek, Franklin County, Pa.

MAHONI, MAHONY,

signifying ''a place where deer and other animals came to lick the ground,'' on account of its saline qualities, or deposits of salt, hence, translated as ''a lick,'' ''a salt lick'' (*Salzlecke,* Zr., 114), ''a deer lick'' (perhaps because the majority of the animals that came to these ''licks'' were deer.[31] Cf. Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 114; Brinton, *Dict.,* 71).

1. Mahanoy Creek, Northumberland County, Pa. 2. Mahoni Creek, Schuylkill County, Pa.

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[31] Heckewelder says: "Mahony signifieth a Deer's Lick; a place where salty, or brackish water issues out of the earth." (Heck., *Narrative,* 35; cf. *ibid.,* 196.)

3. Mahony Creek, Montour County, Pa. 4. Jacob's Creek (called Mahoni Creek on Scull's *Map*), Fayette and Westmoreland Counties, Pa. 5. Mahony Island, "seven miles below Shamokin," Union County, Pa. (*Col. Rec.*, IX, 436). 6. Mahanoy City, Schuylkill County, Pa.

MAHON-ING, MAHON-INK.

Mahoni, a salt lick (see *Mahoni*), + *ing* (*ink*), where, at, hence, "where there is a salt lick," or "at the salt lick."

1. Mahoning Creek, Lawrence County, Pa. 2. Mahoning Creek, Carbon County, Pa. 3. Mahoning Townships, Jefferson County, Pa. (and other names).

MAHON-ING-HANNE,

"the creek at the salt lick" (see *Mahoni* and *Mahon-ing*).

1. Salt Lick Creek (also called Mahoni Creek), Susquehanna County, Pa.

MAHON-ITTI,

diminutive of lick, hence:

1. Little Licking Creek, Franklin County, Pa.

MAKSRICK-HICKAN, MAKSRICK- (or MAKSRISK-) KITTAN[32] (deed to Wm. Penn, July 15, 1682).

Maksrick-hickan is probably a corruption of *mechakgilik, mechek*, large, + *hickan*, end of the flow, tide, river (Br., 48, 76–7), hence, "the large flow," "the large river." *Maksrick, Makerick,*

[32] Heckewelder gives *Mayhccrik-kisksho*, as "Swedish Delaware," under names of Delaware Chiefs (Jones, *Names*, 142; Heck., *Names*, 383), but this is undoubtedly the same as *Maksrick-hickon* (or *kitton*) of the English documents.

may possibly be a corruption of *Mech-harneck,* large river. *Makerisk-(Maksrick-)hickan* would then mean "the tide of the big river." *Maksrick-kittan,* probably the form that corresponds most closely to the Indian, then means "the large main river," (really tautology). *Mechek,* large, + *kit,* main, principal, + *hanne* (contracted to *-an* or *-on*).

In any case the word refers to the Delaware River and not, as Heckewelder states, to "the Trenton Falls." (*Names,* 355.) Nor can John Watson's suggestion, that the name refers to Baker's Creek (Great Creek, now Knowle's Creek), be correct, for the Indian deed to Wm. Penn (July 15, 1682) clearly states "unto the river *Delaware, alias Maksrick-kitton.*" The deed in *Pa. Ar.,* I, 47 ff., is badly printed.

1. Delaware River.

MANAHATTANS WÄGAR (L.)

Manatan, island (see *Manasonck*), + *s* (Swed. poss.), + *wägar* (Swed. pl.; sing., *wäg, väg*), ways, roads, paths, hence, the roads to Manhattan (New Amsterdam).

MANASONCK (L.).

The word means, according to Speck, "at the place of the little island." *Menatey, menati, menachhen,* etc., island, + *s* (diminutive), + *onk,* at (cf. Brinton, *Dict.,* 81).

1. Province Island (?), Delaware County, Pa.

MANGI-KUWE-HANNE, MANG-KWE-HANNE,

"long pine creek" (?) (according to Henry, *Names*). But the word apparently means "the

large pine tree creek;" from *amangi,* great, large (Br., 19), + *kuwe,* pine tree, + *hanne,* creek (Br., 59, 120).

MANGI-NAMAES-HANNE, MANGI-NES-HANNE, etc.
Mangi, amangi, large, + *names, namaes,* fish (Br., 90; *amangamek,* large fish, Br., 19), + *hanne,* creek, hence, the English name.

1. Big Fishing Creek, Clinton County, Pa.

MANTESKIJL (L.).
Mante, Manta, Monthe, etc., the Munsee tribe of the Delaware Indians (see p. 165, note 36, above), + *kijl* (Dutch), creek, hence, the creek of the Munsee tribe, from the fact, perhaps, that the Munsees had one of their principal villages on the creek.

1. Mantua Creek, N. J.

MARACHONSICKA (L.).
Perhaps from *mallachxit, marachk'thit,* bean (Br., 72), + *-wiakat, -icka, ecke,* plenty, abundance (Br., 156), hence, "the place of plenty of beans," or "the place where beans are plenty."

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A).

MARIKESKIJL (L.).
Lindeström here, as is often the case, combines an Indian and a Dutch word, using the Dutch *kijl,* channel, creek, with the Indian name of the creek. The Indian form would be *Marikes-hanne,* or *Marike-sipus. Marike, malliku, maliku,* witchcraft (Br., 72; Zr., 233), + *hanne,* creek, hence, "the witchcraft creek," from the fact, perhaps, that a famous shaman or witch-doctor

lived there, or because it was a place where dancing and sorcery were practiced.

1. Chichester Creek, or Marcus Hook Creek (formerly also called Marcus Creek, a corruption of *Marikes* Creek), below South Chester, Pa. 2. Marcus Hook, on the Delaware, Marcus being a corruption of *Marikes*.

MASGEK-HANNE, MASKEK-HANNE, MASGOK-HANNE.
Masgeek, maskek, masgek, a swamp, or bog (Zr., 189; Br., 74), + *hanne,* stream, hence, signifying "swamp-stream," or "the creek in the swamp."

1. Maskik Run, Monroe County, Pa. (But see *Mask-hanne-unk.*) 2. Muddy Run (perhaps called *Assisku-hanne* by the Indians), Carbon County, Pa. (Henry, *Names.*)

MASHAPI, MASSAPPI,
means beads, glass beads (Br., 74, 165; Zr., 46; Heck., *Names,* 361; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 160). If this name was used the place was undoubtedly called *Mashap-ing,* "at the place of beads," perhaps, from the fact that presents of beads had been received from the whites on or near the creek; or white traders may have traded beads in quantities on the stream. This derivation by Heckewelder is, to my mind, doubtful. Perhaps it comes from *Mechoppen, Meshoppen,* stem of *Mech-oppenack-han,* which see.

1. Meshoppen Creek, Wyoming County, Pa.

MASK-HANNE-UNK, MASK-AN-ONG, etc.
If *Mask-hanne-unk* is correct, the derivation is doubtful. Cf. *Maskek, masgek,* swamp (Zr.,

189; Br., 74), + *hanne,* creek, + *unk,* at, hence, "at the swamp stream." The name, however, may be derived from *maskik, masgik,* grass (Br., 74; Zr., 86), in which case it would mean "at the grass creek." The significance of the name is practically the same, as grass presupposes a swamp, or meadow. (Cf. Ruttenber, *Names,* 86–7, for the occurrence of the name in early records.) Heckewelder interprets the word to mean a rapid stream, which is dubious (see Reichel, *Names,* 49).

1. Musconetcong Creek, N. J.

MATINE-K-ONCK, same as Lindeström's TINNE-KONCKS EIJLANDH; other forms are MATTINACUNK, MATINNECOCK, MATENEKONK, MATINECOCK, KOO-MENA-KANO-KONCK, etc.

For the meaning of *Matinekonck,* see *Tennakonck* (L.). *Koo-mena-kano-k-onck* means "in the Island of Pine trees." (Heck., *Names.*) *Kuwe,* pine-tree (Br., 59), + *mena* (cf. *manatey*), island (Ruttenberg, *Names,* 96; Br., 81), + *onck,* on, at, hence, "on pine-tree island;" but the name was not usual, *Matine-k-onck* and *Tinne-k-onck* being the designations mostly applied. (Cf. also Tooker, *Names,* 115–7.)

1. Burlington Island.

MECHAPONE, MATSCHAPONE, MACHORNIPALAS. (*Pa. Ar.,* I, 28),

"bad bread"? (Henry, *Names,* but cf. *Mashapi*).

1. Mackwaputtus Creek (?), Delaware.

MECHOPINACKAN (L.).

For Derivation, see *Mech-oppenack-han.*

1. District between Burlington and Florence, on the Jersey side of the Delaware.

MECH-OPPENACK-HAN (Cf. Lindeström's MESCKOPENACKAN and MECHOPINACKAN).

Macheu, mecheu, large, + *hoppenak, hobbenak, hobbin,*[33] potato (Zr., 23, 146; Br., 48, 68), hence, large potato," or "the place of the large potato." Cf. *Mashapi.*

1. Chester River (*Uplandhkijl,* Lindeström's *Maps*), Delaware County, Pa. This stream was probably called *Mech-oppenack-hanne* by the Indians, "the large potato river." 2. Mahopenny Creek, Wyoming County, Pa. 3. Meshoppen Creek, Luzerne County, Pa.

MEGUKTI (cf. MEGUCKE),

a plain (Zr., 144; Br., 78), "a small plain destitute of timber," "a meadow, a prairie."

1. Magotty, Maryland.

MEHANHICKAN KIJL (L.).

Mehan is probably a mistake for *mechan, mechen, mechek,* large, big (Br., 77; Zr., 23), + *hickan,* ebb, flow, at the end of the flow, + *kijl,* channel, creek, hence, "the big flow creek," from the fact, perhaps, that its water was influenced by the tide, or "big flow," of the Delaware.

1. For location see Lindeström's *Map* (A); the

[33] *Hoppenak, hoppenes,* etc., apparently meant, "turnips and other round [edible] roots." Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 167; *MSS.* in Am. Philo. Society.

creek, or part of the Delaware forming Biles Island.

MECHANSIO BERGH (*fins sölfwer metall*, "silver metal is found"). *Mechan, Mechek,* great, large (Br., 77; Zr., 86; Lindeström, above, pp. 129, 161, 203), + *achsin, assin,* stone (Zr., 183; Br., 13), + *bergh* (Swed.), mountain, hence, meaning "the big stone mountain."

1. For location see Lindeström's *Maps.*

MECHANSIO EIJLANDH (L.).

For meaning of *Mechansio,* see *Mechansio Bergh; eijlandh* (Dutch, *eiland*), island.

1. Newbolds Island. Cf. *Sipuas-ing.*

MECHANSIO SIPPUS (L.).

Mechansio, great stone (see *Mechansio Bergh*), + *sippus* (*sipu,* + s, diminutive), small river, creek, hence, "great-stone creek."

1. Perhaps the small stream just above Bordentown, N. J. Ferris identifies it with "Crosswick's Creek." Ferris, *Settlements,* 291.

MECHEK-MENATEY, MACHEN-ANATE, etc.

Mechek, large (Br., 77), + *menatey,* island (Br., 81; Zr., 106), hence, "the great island."

1. Great Island, near Dunstown, Clinton County, Pa., in the West Branch of the Susquehanna River.

MECH-HANNE, MECH-ANNECK, etc.

Mechek, machcu, mechan, mech, machweu, large, great (Br., 77), + hanne, stream, hence, "large stream," or "the main stream;" also, the largest arm of a river.

1. Main Branch of the Lehigh, the Schuylkill, etc., were so named by the Indians. Cf. *Kithanne.* 2. Mosch-hanne Creek (?), Monroe, Pa.

MEHENTANGO (?),

"where we had been killing deer." (?) (Henry, *Names;* cf. *achtu,* deer, Br., 14; also *Meshange.*)

1. West Mahantango Creek, Juniata County, Pa. 2. Mahantango Creek, Northumberland County, Pa.

MENACAMICKON (L.).

Possibly from *menachk,* fence, fort (Br., 80) + *migun,* quill (Br., 84), hence, the quill fence or enclosure, from the fact that a village was located there, palisaded with sharp sticks. Cf. plate 23, facing p. 212.

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps.*

MENACHK-INK, MENACHK-SING (Heck.).

Moenachk, menachk, fence, palisade, fort (Zr., 73, 79; Br., 80), + *ink,* at, hence, signifying "a place where there is a fence," "at the palisade," or "at the fort," so called by the Indians from the fact that the settlers had built a fortress at their settlement.

1. Pittsburgh, Pa. 2. Bethlehem, Pa. 3. Manokin, Maryland. 4. Lamokin Run. This name is given by Henry as derived from *Manachk-ing,* but the derivation is doubtful. (Henry, *Names*).

MENAHANONCK (L.),

cognate of *Menachhenak,* same stem as *menatey,* island (Br., 81), + *hanne,* creek, + *onck* (*onk*),

at, hence, "at or on the creek island," *i. e.*, the island formed by a creek.[34] See *Menate-hanne.*
1. For location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A).

MENATE-HANNE, MANATEY-HANNE, etc.
Menatey, manatey, minatey, menatau, menachhen, manatan, etc., island (Zr., 106; Br., 81), + *hanne,* creek, hence, "the island creek," "the creek with islands" (?)
1. Monody Creek, Dauphin County, Pa.

MENAUN-GEHILLA, MANUN-GEHILLA,
"implying high banks or bluffs, breaking off and falling down at places" (Heck.). Hence, in this case meaning "a creek with high banks that in places cave in, or fall down." Zeisberger and Brinton give a different root for high bank: *japewi, yapewi* (Zr., 18; Br., 51, 178); *penihillan, penniu,* to fall, to fall down (Br., 112; Zr., 71).
1. Monongahela Creek, Washington County, Pa.
2. Monongahela City, Washington County, Pa. (and other names).

MENENACHK-HASIK-HANNE (?), MENENACHK-HASIK-INK,
"at the garden creek," "at the place of the garden." (Br., 81. Cf. *menhakehhamat,* gardener.)
1. Monocasy[35] Creek, Northampton County, Pa.

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[34] *Menahan-onck* may also mean islands, referring to a place of several islands, Ruttenber, *Names,* 222.

[35] The derivation is uncertain. The name may be a corruption of *Menachk-sing.* which see. Heckewelder derives it from *menagassi,* which he defines as "a stream containing several large bends." (Heck., *Names,* 358, 360).
See *woaktshinni,* to bend (Zr., 22); *woaktshackne,* a bend in a

2. Monocasque Creek, Adams County, Pa. 3. Monocasy Island, Luzerne County, Pa. (and other names).

MENETON-INK, MANATON-ING, MONATTION (*Col. Rec.; Pa. Ar.*), etc.

Heckewelder interprets the name Manatawny as coming from *menhaltanink*, meaning "where we drink liquor" (Cf. Zr., 60–1; Br., 81); but Vogler says: "No Indian would give the meaning to this creek that Heckewelder does," and calls it "an invention by Mr. Heckewelder's 'fertile imagination.'" Henry, *Names*. Rev. Vogler writes it *Mennawtaywunk*, and translates it "on the island."[36] Henry, *Names*.

1. Manatawny Creek, Berks County, Pa. 2. An Indian village "four miles from Pottsgrove on Manotawny Creek," Montgomery County, Pa. 3. Manatawny town, Berks County, Pa. (and other names).

MENIOLOGAMEKA, MENIOLAGEMEKA,

the name of an Indian village on the Aquanshicola Creek, at the northern base of the Blue

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river; *lechau-hanne*, fork of a river (Br., 62); *woakeu*, crooked (Br., 165). The stem in all these words is *oak*, *ag* (*menagassi*) and means bent. Cf. *hokkwoan*, hook, pothook (Br., 49).

Henry on the other hand derives Monocasy Island from *Menhakon*, which he defines as "a spade or other tool to dig up the ground." (Henry, *Names*.) *Makhakwoakan*, hoe, grubbing hoe (Br., 72), containing stem meaning hook, or bend, is then a cognate, if *menhakon* (?) was the name of the island.

[36] In the edition of Heckewelder's *Names*, published by the Am. Philo. Society, the Indian word is printed *Menetonink* (Heck., *Names*, 360), "where we drank (were drunk)." *Menetonink* certainly corroborates Vogler's view that the word comes from stems meaning "on the island" (*manatan*, *menatan*, etc., island, see *Manate-hanne*, + *ink*, at, on). The name apparently referred to some island in the creek (also to a village there), and was later transferred to the creek itself,—*Manatan-hanne*, island creek.

Mountains, near Smith's Gap. "The word implies: a spot of rich land, amidst that which is bad or barren." (Heck. *Narrative,* 37).

MENEHUND,

"where liquor was drunk" (Heck., *Names,* 373). *Menil, menel,* drink (Zr., 61), *menen,* to drink Br., 81), *hund,* liquor (Heck.); perhaps deriving its name from some carousal that took place on the creek.

1. Manahan Creek, York County, Pa.

MENEJACKSE KIJL (L.), MENEYAKS-ANNE.

Stem meaning to drink, with somewhat the same signification as *Meneyunk* (which see), "where we go to drink;" so called perhaps from the springs along the river, which are used to this day. *Kijl* (Dutch), river, creek. (See *Ganshowe-hanne,* note 14), *(h)anne,* creek.

1. The Schuylkill River.

MENE-YUNK, MANA-YUNK,[37] MENA-YANK (Vogler).

Menen, to drink, *menil,* drink (Zr., 61; Br., 81), + *(i)ung,* there, in, at (Br., 51), hence, signifying "at the place of drinking," *i. e.,* where water was taken for the needs of the village, referring to the springs along the Schuylkill.

1. Schuylkill River (name of the district, *Meneyunk,* transferred to the river). 2. Manayunk, district on the Schuylkill, so-called from the many springs there.

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[37] Heckewelder says it means "our place of drinking (liquor), our place of assembling to drink," *Names,* 355.

MESCKOPENACKAN (L.),
meaning "big potato." A cognate of a different dialect is *Mechopinackan* (L.). For derivation, see *Mech-oppenack-han.*

1. Chester, Pa.

MESHANGE, MESHAKAN.[38]
Meshakan, a wound (Br., 82), hence, probably referring to some accident, or where some one was badly wounded.

1. Mesongo, Maryland.

MESHIL-AMEK-HANNE.
Meshil-amek, mashil-amek, like a fish, a name applied to the trout (Br., 74; Zr., 205), + *hanne,* stream, creek, hence, signifying "trout creek."

1. Moselem Creek, Berks County, Pa. 2. Moselem Springs, Berks County, Pa. (and other names).

MINQUES KIJL (L.).
Minkwas creek (see *Apoquenema* (Kijl (L.)).

1. Appoquinimink Creek, Delaware.

MICH-WIHILUS-ING,[39] MI-HILUS-ING, etc.
Mihillusin, old, to be old (Br., 84); *mihillusis, mihilusak,* old man (Br., 84; Zr., 134), + *ing,* at, where, hence, signifying "at the place of the old man." (Heck., *Names.*)

1. Wyalusing Creek, Bradford County, Pa. 2. Indian village of Monseys, "on the Susque-

[38] Heckewelder says the word means "where we killed deer, a good place for killing deer." *Names,* 377.

[39] Heckewelder says that "*Wyalusing* is the proper Indian name of this place," referring to Friedenshutten. Heck., *Narrative,* 106.

hanna, east side, about twenty houses full of people." It is written *Quihiloosing, Mochhachlosung,* etc., in the old records.

MINQWE-SIPU, MINGO-SIPUS.
"The creek or river of the Minquas."

1. Mingo Creek, Philadelphia County, Pa. (See Scull's *Map,* 1750.) 2. Christiana (Christina) River, Delaware. 3. Mingo Creek, Montgomery County (and other names).

MINS-INK, MINIS-SINK (contracted from *min-achsin-ink,* "where the stones are gathered together," Br., 85),
meaning "where the Minsi Indians are," or "at the place of the Minsi Indians."

1. An Indian town "about 80 miles" up the Delaware from Trenton Falls. 2. Muncy Mountain. 3. Muncy Creek, Lycoming County, Pa. 4. Minisink Station, Morris County, N. J. 5. Minsi, a town near Stroudsburg, Pa. 6. Mount Minsi, Pennsylvania side of Delaware Water Gap (and other names).

MIREKATS KIJL (L.),
"the creek of the gray goose," or "the gray goose creek." *Merack kaak, merack kak, merack-ak,* "grå gäss" (Swed.), gray goose (Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 165; Br., 52), + *kijl,* creek. Henry's definition of *Mirekats* as sea cat, is of course worthless (Henry, *Dict.,* Ridgway Library). If Lindeström's word has the same stems as *merichokes* (*merack-ak*) which seems likely, Ruttenber is certainly wrong in his definition (see Ruttenber, *Names,* 81, 87). Per-

haps *Miraket* (*Merikat*) was the name of a clan living on the creek ("the clan of the gray goose"). There was an Indian clan called *Merickokes* in New York State (Ruttenber, *Names,* 81, 87; Hodge, *Handbook,* I, 845). It is said that there was an Indian village on the present site of Merick, Queen's County, New York, called *Merickoke* (*Namerickoke*).

1. Perhaps Hollow Creek, the farthest eastern outlet of Millpond (below Mill Creek), forming the eastern boundary of Bristol, Pa.

MOCHOL-PAKITON.

The old Indian name comes from *amochool, amochol,* canoe, boat (Zr., 32; Br., 20), + *pakiton,* to throw away, abandon (Zr., 198; Br., 107), hence, signifying "to abandon the canoes," *i. e.,* a creek or place in a creek not navigable.

1. Mohulbucteetam (now Mahoning)[40] Creek, Armstrong County, Pa.

MOHANTANGO (see Evans' *Map,* 1749), signifying "where we ate plentiful of meat" (?) (Heck., *Names,* 360).

1. Mahantango Creek, Northumberland County, Pa. 2. Little Mahantango Creek. 3. Mahantango Boro, Juniata County, Pa. (and other names).

MOOS-HANNE, MOS-HANNE.

Moos, mos, elk, deer (Br., 86; Zr., 65), + *hanne,* stream, hence, signifying "elk or moose stream."

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[40] Mahoning, however, comes from *Mahoni,* lick, + *ing,* at.

1. Moshannon Creek, Centre County, Pa. (and other names with Moshannon). 2. Elk Creek, Lycoming County, Pa. 3. Elk Creek, Erie County, Pa. (and other names with Elk).

MOOSI-MAHONI.

Moos, mos, elk (Zr., 65), + *mahoni,* lick, hence, the English names, which are translations:

1. Elk Lick, Potter County. 2. Elk Lick Creek, Somerset County, Pa. (and other names).

MOOS-WACHT'CHU, MOOS-WACHT'SHU.

Moos, mos, elk (see *Moos-hanne*), + *wacht'chu, wacht'shu,* mountain (Br., 150), hence, "moos or elk mountain."

1. Moosic Mountain, Mt. Ararat (Howell's *Map,* 1792). 2. Moosic Boro, Lackawanna County, Pa. (and other names). 3. Elk Mountain.[41]

MORDAREKIJHLEN (L.),

"the murder creek." *Mordare* (Swed. *mördare*), murder, + *kijhlen* (Dutch, with Swed. def. encl. art. *-en*), the creek (see *Gansho-wehanne,* foot-note 14).

1. Murder Creek (see *Nihillow-hanne*).

MOSES CREEK (Scull's *Map,* 1770; Howell's *Map,* 1792),

now called Solomon's Creek. "Both these names are the names of Baptized Moravian Indians who removed here in 1754." Henry, *Names.*

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[41] On the one hand, the Indian word was retained, but corrupted into Moosic; on the other hand, it was translated into Elk.

MOYAMOKIN,[42]

"to enter into the house" (Henry, *Names*, quoting Heckewelder).

1. Moyamensing, Philadelphia.

NAHANEN (L.).

Nahanum, nahanen, nachenum, raccoon (Br., 88; Br., 153; Campanius, *Cate.*, 145).

1. A small island opposite Trenton (?). Cf. *Sanckhickan* and Lindeström's *Map* (A).

NACHENUM-HANNE, NAHENUM-HANNE, NACHEN-HANNE, etc.

Nachenum, nahanum, raccoon (see *Nahenen*), + *hanne*, stream, creek (Br., 120), hence, "raccoon creek." The English names are translations of the Indian:

1. Raccoon Creek, South Beaver County, Pa. 2. Raccoon Creek, Venango County, Pa. 3. Raccoon Creek, Washington County, Pa. 4. Raccoon Creek, Erie County, Pa. 5. Raccoon Creek, Lebanon County, Pa. 6. Raccoon Creek, Franklin County, Pa. (and other names).

NAMES-HANNE, AMES-HANNE,

"fish creek." *Namacs, names*, fish (Br., 90; Zr., 75), + *hanne*, stream, hence, the English names:

1. Fishing Creek, Clinton County, Pa. 2. Fishing Creek, Dauphin County, Pa. 3. Fishing Creek, Lebanon County, Pa. (and other names).

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[42] Perhaps *Moyamokinsing*, "at the place where we enter the house."

NANCY'S RUN,

Northampton County, Pa. "A colored woman called 'Black Nancy,' a fortune teller, resided here about 1730–40." Henry, *Names.*

NARRATICONS KIJL (L.).

Narratico, nallatico, means "up the river" (Speck). Perhaps it was an answer to a question and the Indian, misunderstanding the query, answered *narratico(n),* "up the river;" or, the river might have taken its name from a place or village called *Narratic-onck,* "the place up the river." The first part of the word occurs in other names on the Jersey side of the Delaware, as *Narranshaw, Narratschoen* (van der Donck), which is said to mean "a promontory or high point" (see Ruttenber, *Names,* 90, 116). Brinton gives the following words with this stem: *nallahhemen,* to sail up the river; *nallahih, narrahich,* up the stream; *nallahiwi, narrahiwi,* up the river (Br., 90). *Narraticon kijl* then means either "the creek at the high point" (there being an island at its mouth), or "the creek up the River (Delaware)."

1. Raccoon Creek, N. J.

NECHTICOK, NENTEGO (from *Unechtgo,* etc.), + *sipu.*

The word signifies tide-water; when applied to the Indian tribe, "tide-water people;" hence, with *sipu* "the River of the tide-water Indians."

1. Nanticoke Indians. 2. Nanticoke River. 3. Nanticoke Mountains. 4. Nanticoke (Town), Luzerne County, Pa. 5. Nanticoke Creek, Luzerne County, Pa.

NECAWICK (L.).

Perhaps from stem *nech-, necho-,* alone, lonely, deserted (Br., 92–3; Zr., 9), + *wick, wikit,* house, habitation, hence, "deserted house," or "lonely house."

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A).

NEJAKUE [-SEPUS] (L.).

Apparently cognate of *naiak, naiyak,* point, corner, angle (Trumbull, *Names,* 37; cf. Br., 132), + *sipus,* creek, hence, "the creek at the angle."

1. The western arm or outlet of Mill Creek. (As early as 1702–3, one of the arms of Mill Creek below Millpond was called Otter's Creek, possibly from John Otter (see Holme's *Map*), cf. early Bristol survey, possibly by Israel Taylor, 1702–3, or earlier, in Col. Paxson's collection of photostats).

NEJECK (L.),

meaning "the point" (see *Nejakue*) [*-sepus*].

1. The point between *Wickus Sippus* and *Hackaczockan* [*Sipus*] on Lindeström's *Map* (A).

NEMORALING, MONALLIN (Howell's *Map*),

"where we drank," or "at the place where liquor was drunk" (Heck. *Names*).

1. Menallen Township (corruption of Nemoraling), Fayette County, Pa. 2. Dunlap's Creek. 3. Thompson Run.

NESKA-HANNE.

Neska, black (see *Neska-hon-ing*), + *hanne,* creek, hence, "the dark or black creek."

1. Black Creek, Lycoming County, Pa. 2. Black

Creek, Schuylkill County, Pa. 3. Black Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 4. Black Creek, Franklin County, Pa.

NESKA-HON-ING, NOESKA-HON-ING.[43]

Neska-, stem meaning black, dark (Br., 94), *mahoni*, lick, salt lick (see *Mahoni*), + *ing*, locative, at, hence, "at the black lick," so named from the fact that the lick or the soil at the lick was black.

1. Nesquehoning Creek, Carbon County, Pa. 2. Black Lick Creek, Indiana County, Pa.

NESK-OPPEK, MESKO-PEKOK (*Col. Rec.*, VIII, 143), etc.

Neska-, stem, meaning dark, black (see *Neska-hon-ing*), + *tuppek*, spring, or well (Zr., 181; Br., 87, 120, etc.), hence, signifying "the dark, or deep water-creek."

1. Nescopec Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 2. Nescopec Boro, Luzerne County, Pa. (and other names).

NIHILLOW-HANNE, NIHIRROW-HANNE,

"murder creek," so called, perhaps, from the fact that some murder was committed on its banks.

1. Murder Creek (see *Mordarekijhlen*).

NIPEN-ACKHEN, NIPENOWIS.[44]

Nipen, summer, + *acheen, achen, ackhen*, summer hunt (Zr., 187; Br., 32, 35, 54, 57, 97), hence,

[43] *Neskalenk*, or *Nesgessit Lenape*, black man (Br., 94). Black is *sukeu, sucksit* (Br., 134; Zr., 24).

[44] Heckewelder interprets this word as "like unto summer." (Heck., *Names*, 363).

signifying "the place where hunting was done in the summer;" here, "the creek of the summer hunts."

1. Nippenose Creek, Lycoming County, Pa. (and other names).

NISHA-HONI-SIPU, NISH-MAHONI, NISHA-HONEN.[45]
Nishi, nisha, two, double (Br., 97; Zr., 207), + *mahoni* (*ma*-dropping out in some combinations), lick, + *sipu,* creek, hence, signifying "double lick creek," or "two lick creek," from the fact, perhaps, that there were two deer licks at or on this creek.

1. Two Lick Creek, Indiana County, Pa.

NISHA-MEK-KACKTON, etc.
Nisha-, two, double (see *Nisha-men-ing* and *Nish-ann-eck*), + stem for fish (Br., 19, 90).

1. An Indian village "three miles above Shamokin on the North Branch of the Susquehanna River" (cf. *Col. Rec.,* VII, 317). 2. Nishamek-kackton Creek, Northumberland County, Pa. 3. Fishing Creek, Columbia County, Pa. (Henry, *Names*). But Cf. *Names-hanne.*

NISHA-MEN-ING (NESHA-MENE, NESHA-MINE).
Nisha, nishen, nesha, two, double, twice (Br., 97, 98; Zr., 207), + *menen,* to drink, *menil,* a drink (Br., 81; Zr., 61), + *ing,* at, hence, "at the double drinking place;" or "at the place where we drink twice."

1. Nishamene (Neshamine) Indians. 2. Neshaminy Creek, Bucks County, Pa., the "Creek

[45] Cf. Heck., *Names,* 372.

of the Neshamine Indians." The derivation and meaning of Neshaminy[46] Creek by Heckewelder, as *Nisha-m-anne,* the double stream (*nisha,* double, or two, + *hanne,* creek) has generally been accepted and on the surface seems convincing and simple. But since the name was also applied to a tribe of Indians (see Hodge, *Handbook,* II, 57, and references there) and since we have the name of another creek, which is certainly derived from *Nicha-hann-eck,* today written not *Nishameneck, Nishaming,* or *Neshaminy,* but *Neshannock* (*Nish-ann-ok*), it seems that we must discard Heckewelder's definition and look for another. This becomes even more obvious when we remember that Zeisberger and Vogler (a missionary among the Lenapes) both objected to Heckewelder's explanation. The old documents point in the same direction. The name is written *Nishambanack* (1671), *Nishmink, Nishammis* (1679), *Nishamines* (1680), *Neshimineh* (1682), *Neshamineh* (1686), *Neshaminia* (1688), *Neshamenah* (1702), *Nicambanak,* etc. (see *Cata.* (1851), pp. 43, 44, 46; *Doc.* XII, 500), always with *m* (*Neshem-Nishem-*), never with *n* (*nishen-*), which is a strong indication that the name is not from *Nisha-hanne,*[47] for in that case the *n* would surely be present in some of the old forms, as it is in *Nish-ann-ok* (which

[46] Vogler says, "If the name is applied to a stream it must be *Neeshhannag.*" Henry, *Names.* Vogler, if Henry is correct, derives Neshaminy from *Neeshawhanney* (?), which he defines as "two uprooted trees." See Henry, *Names.*

[47] Henry says: "It should be written *Namaeshanne,* meaning Fishing Creek." Henry, *Dict.* (Ridgway Library); Henry, *Ad. Names.*

see). *Nisha-men-ing* (see derivation above) is therefore more likely, meaning "the double drinking place," or "where we drink twice," from the fact, perhaps, that there were two springs near the spot, where the Indians lived (Indians always, when possible, drank spring water, never river water, however pure, if they could help it). The Indians were then referred to as "the tribe of the double drinking place." The stream was called *Kikimenskijl* in 1654–5 (Lindeström's *Maps*); later (after 1656, perhaps about 1660) the Neshamine Indians apparently moved to the creek,[48] giving their name to it, *Neshamine-hanne*, the creek of the Neshamine Indians.

NISHI-ANN-OK, NESHI-ANN-OK, NISHI-ANN-ECK.

Nisha, nishi, nesha, two, double (Zr., 207; Br., 97), + *hann-eck, hann-ock* (Br., 77), hence, signifying two creeks, two adjoining creeks, or the double stream.

1. Neshannock Creek, Lawrence County, Pa. 2. Neshannock Falls, Lawrence County, Pa. (and other names). 3. Neshanic Creek, Somerset County, N. J. 4. Neshanic, Somerset County, N. J.

NITTABAKONCK (L.).

Perhaps containing stem of *netopalis, netobalis, menetopalis, netopalechik* (pl.), warrior (Br., 94; Zr., 220), + *onck*, at, hence, at the place of

[48] Henry says: "The name Neshaminy is not found in History before 1670–1675." Henry, *Ad. Names.*

the warrior, so called from the fact, perhaps, that a great warrior chief lived there.

1. District on the Schuylkill below or near Fairmount Park.

NOCHA-MIKS-ING, NOKA-MIKS-ING, etc.

The form is uncertain; probably from stem meaning soft (cf. *nookhik, nokhik, nokake,* etc., Hodge, *Handbook,* II, 79), + *miksa,* soil (Heck.), + *ing,* at, hence, "at the place of the soft soil."[49]

1. Nockamixon Township, Bucks County, Pa.

NOLAMATT-INK, NOLEMUTTING, etc.

Cf. *nolemutes,* silk worm (Br., 99; Zr., 173), + *ing* (*ink*), where, or at, hence, signifying "where there are silk worms," "the silkworm place." Name given by the Indians to Gnadenthal and Christian Spring, Pa.

O'CHENANG (Iroq.),

"bull thistle" (?) Henry, *Names.*

1. Chenango River, Tioga County, Pa. 2. Shenango Creek, Lawrence County, Pa.

OCHKWEU-HANNE,

"the woman creek," "squaw creek." *Ochkweu,* woman, *ochkwetit,* girl, little woman (Br., 103; Zr., 234), + *hanne,* creek.

1. Squaw Run.

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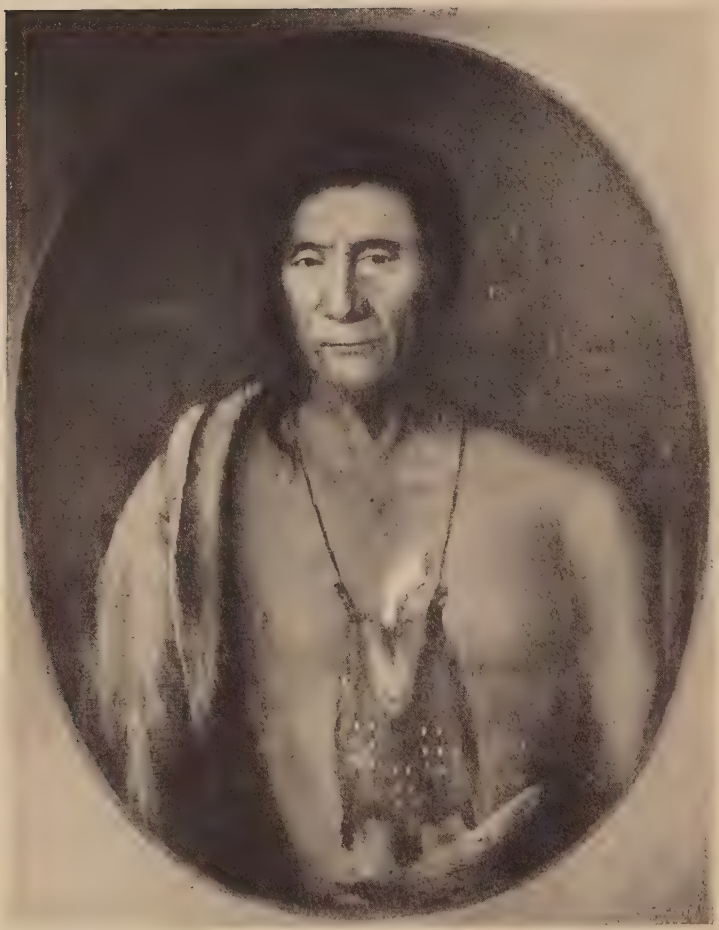
[49] Heckewelder gives it as *Nocha-nichs-ink,* meaning "at the place of the three huts," *nacha, nocha,* three (Br., 38; Zr., 198), + stem for hut (cf. Zr., 29, 97; Br., 157), + *ing,* at.



43. "Tishcohan" (*Tash-suk-amen*, "he never blackens himself"), famous Indian Chief, one of the signers of the "Walking Purchase" Deed and other early documents. This and the portrait of *Laphawinsu* (plate 42) was apparently painted in the summer of 1735 by Gustav Hesselius, the Swedish artist. The original portraits are now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, having been presented by a descendant of William Penn. (Photograph copies of this and of portrait for plate 42 were kindly furnished by Col. Henry D. Paxson.)

OHESSON,
Indian town located at present Waynesburg. Henry, *Names.*

OHIO-PEHELLE.
Ohio, white (see *woa-achsin-ning*), + *pekelle* (*pitey,* Zr., 80; Br., 117), frothy, water whitened by froth (Heck., *Names,* 367 ff.), referring to the water as it descends over the rocks.

1. Ohiopyle Falls, Fayette County, Pa.

OHIO-PEK-HANNE, OHIO-PEK-SIPU,
"river with water whitened by froth;" "the white water river." *Ohiu,* white (*woapelechen,* very white, *woa,* same stem as *ohiu,* Zr., 216; Br., 165–6), + *pek,* deep water, pool, pond, + *hanne* (*sipu*), river. (See Heck., *Names,* 368–70.)

1. Ohio River.

OKHUCKWOAN, HOCQUAN, HOCKWOAN,
signifying "a hook," "a pot hook" (Zr., 96; Br., 49).

1. Occoquan, Maryland. 2. Richmond Creek, Northampton County, Pa. (Called *Hockwoan-hanne* by the Indians.) "The creek has a remarkable bend, like a crook or hook, near the Delaware." Henry, *Names.* 3. Orecton Island[50] in the Delaware (Deed, July 15, 1682, to Wm. Penn), Wm. Biles Island, now Biles Island. The island was bought by William Biles, trader, from the Indians about 1680, but the deed was not recorded. In 1727 Chief Orecton, Lapowinsa

[50] This name, according to Henry, is a corruption of the Indian *Okhuckwoan* (*Hokwoan*), who was an Indian chief.

(see plate 42) and other chiefs confirmed this purchase in a deed to William Biles, Jr. The island contained 300 acres of land. Copy of deed in Col. Paxson's Collections.

OKWAGO, OQUAGO,
"under the bridge" (?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Oquago Mountain.

OLAK-ONG, OLEK-UNG.[51]
Walek, walak, woalak, oalak, olak, hole, hollow, valley (Br., 150; Zr., 95), + *ing,* at, hence, "at the hole or in the valley."

1. Holicong Well (also Oley Kong), a natural well or sink in limestone, Buckingham Township, Bucks County, Pa. 2. *Olekong,* or *Walacking,* was an Indian village, near the "well," Buckingham Township, Bucks County, Pa. 3. Oley Township in Berks County, Pa.

OL-INK-HANNE,
"a creek that runs between hills" (Henry, *Names*), based on Heckewelder). *Olak,* valley, + *ing,* in, + *hanne,* creek, hence, "the creek in the valley."

1. Kettle Creek, Carbon County, Pa.

O-PEK-HANNE,
"signifying the pond or stream of whitish color." For derivation see *Ohio-pek-hanne.*

1. Opicon Creek, Maryland.

OSKOHU-HANNE (?), OSCOHU- (?) HANNE,
Oscohu, sugar (Henry, *Names*). *Oscohu* is probably an abbreviation of a word that means

[51] Heckewelder gives this name as *Olink,* probably used in another dialect.

maple-sugar, or sugar-tree. (Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 13; Zr., 187.)

1. Sugar Creek, McKean County, Pa. 2. Sugar Creek, Bradford County, Pa. 3. Sugar Creek, Venango County, Pa. (Cf. *Col. Rec.*, V, 660.)

OSOAGEH (?) (Iroq.),

"pine forest" (?) (Henry, *Names*), when applied to the creek, "pine tree creek."

1. Oswaya Creek, McKean County, Pa.

OTTOHOHAKO (?), OTTERAROE (Iroq.) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Octoraro Creek, Lancaster County, Pa. 2. Octoraro town, Lancaster County, Pa.

OWAISKI (?) (Iroq.),

"under the banks" (?) (Henry, *Names*).

1. Tionesta Creek, Venango County, Pa. 2. An Indian Village at mouth of Tionesta Creek, Venango County, Pa.

PACH-GIT-HANNE, PACKIT-HANNE, PAKIT-ANNE.

Pakiton, to abandon, to throw away (Br., 107), hence, "the creek, where canoes must be abandoned," or perhaps it refers to the fact that a village on the creek was abandoned. Cf. *Mochol-pakiton.*

1. Poketo Creek, Allegheny County, Pa.

PACKQUIMENSJ SIPPUS (L.),

"the creek of the tree of the round nuts," or "the black walnut creek." Holm and Campanius give the word as *tackquimensi* (see

Tuckwi-mens-ing), while Brinton has it as *p'tukquiminshi.*[52]

1. Perhaps Crosswick Creek, N. J. See list of names with Lindeström's *Map* (A).

PAKIM-ON-INK, PAKI-OM-INK,

signifying "at the place of cranberries." *Pakihm, pakim,* cranberry (Br., 106), + *ink,* (with preceding glide), where or at, hence, "the creek where cranberries grow."

1. Perkiomen Creek, Montgomery County, Pa. (and other names).

PAPENNAM-INK (ING).

Pennamen, to see, to look; *pennamook,* look you; *pepennamink* (*ink,* where), *papenamink,* where we look (Zr., 116); "the place where we gaze or look" (for animals, fish, etc.).

1. Poponoming Lake, Monroe County, Pa.

PAPPITOICKAN (L.).

Perhaps from *Pabattam, pappatom,* to pray, + *ikan, ichan,* house (cf. *Nocha-miksing,* foot-note, *nachanichsing*), hence, "prayer house, sacred lodge, ceremonial lodge."

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps.*

PASAIK, PASACK, PACHSAJEK, PASKACK, etc.

The word means "a valley" (Heck. *Names.* Cf. Br., 105; Zr., 215).

1. Passaic, New Jersey.

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[52] The three forms of the initial syllable *pack-, tack-* and *p'tuk-,* show that the initial consonantal sound was neither *p* nor *t.* The fact that Lindeström has *p* and Holm *t* seems to indicate that *pt, p't,* of Brinton comes nearest the Lenape sound for the syllable.

PASSAJUNGH (L.), PASSAYUNG, PASSAJONK, etc.
Cognate of *pasaik, pachsajek, passayeck,* meaning valley, + *ing,* at, where, hence, "at or in the valley," or "in a low place." (Cf. Br., 105; Zr., 215; see *Pasaik, Passayeck,* etc. But cf. Vogler, in Henry, *Names,* under *Passiekunk.*)

1. For location see Lindeström's *Maps.* See above, p. 169, note 55.

PAUNAKUS-SING, PUNKUS-SING,
"where powder was given to them" (the Indians), Henry, *Names.* Cf. *Punk,* powder (Campanius, *Cate.;* Holm, *Kort Beskrifning;* Brinton, *Dict.,* 120).

1. Milton Creek.

PEK-HANNE, PEG-HANNE, PAK-HANNE, PAK-HANNEK,
signifying "the dark or deep creek." *Pege, pake,* stem meaning dark (cf. *pakenum,* Br., 106; Zr., 52), + hanne, creek.

1. Pogunnock Creek.

PEK-STANK, TUPEK-STANK, etc.
Cf. *tupek, thuppek,* spring or pool of water (Zr., 181; Br., 87, 120, 142, 147), *tank,* at, where, in, hence, "at the pool," "a creek having a pool or lake of dead water." (Cf. Heck., *Names.*)

1. Paxton Creek, at Harrisburg, Pa.

PEMICKPACKA KIJL (L.) and PENICKPACKA KIJL (see Lindeström's *Maps*).
As both forms are found in Lindeström it is not possible, using his book and maps as guides, to adopt the spelling which most likely represents

the closest approach to the sound combinations used by the Indians, when referring to this creek. But as the first syllable of the name is always *Pem-* in English and Dutch records as well as in Campanius[53] (occurring only on Lindeström's *Maps* as *Pen*[54]) it seems safe to assume that *Pemickpacka, Pemipack; Pemepek,* is the probable form. Pennypack (initial syllable *pen*) has, however, come to be the modern name for the creek. This, I believe, due partly, or perhaps, mainly to the influence of the Dutch *Pannebakker* (a tile-maker). (The Pennypacker family lived on the creek. But even without the presence of the Pennypacker family on the creek the name would have had a tendency to be corrupted into Pennypack, as *penny* is a familiar English combination while *peme* is not.[54a].) The word *Pemipack* (*Pemepek*) is probably from the stems *peme, pomi, pemi, pimi,* grease, really bear-fat (Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 72; Hodge, *Handbook,* I, 224), + *tuppek, pek,* pond, sluggish body of water, hence *Pemipack* would mean "bear-fat creek," or "the slowly flowing bear-fat creek," *i. e.,* the sluggish stream where bear-fat was obtained by hunting. *Pemi* may also mean back and forth; when referring to water, it would mean "without much current." Heckewelder says the name (Pennypack) is cor-

[53] It occurs as *Pemmepeca* (1671), *Pemecacka* (1672), *Pemapeka* (1680) (see *Cata.* (1851), pp. 43, 47, 48), *Pemmapeka* (1683), *Pemepecka* (Penn's letter to Logan, 22/6 1700), *Pemopeck* (1759) *Pemapeck,* etc.

[54] *Penne-, pene-,* was also a Lenape stem. Cf. Nelson, *Indians,* 105.

[54a] Cf. Willits, *The Pennepack in Lower Dublin Township.* (*City Hist. Society of Philadelphia,* 1911, p. 241 ff.)

rupted from *Pemapeek* and means "a body of water with no current." Heck., *Names.*

1. Pennypack Creek[55] Philadelphia County, Pa.
2. Pemipacka, or Pemapack, Indian Village on the creek (Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*).

PENA-SAUKWIT, PEN-SAUKEN.

Pena, crooked, back and forth (Tooker, *Names,* 189), + *saukwit,* mouth of a river.

1. Pensauken Creek, N. J.

PEPACH-GANK-ING[56] (?),

"at the place of the calamus-root." *Pepach-gank,* calamus-root (Br., 113), + *ing,* at.

1. Buckingham Mountain, Bucks County, Pa. In an old draught (1726) is this statement: "The Great Mountain, called by the Indians Pepacating." Photostat copy in Colonel Paxson's Collection.

PESSCONINGHACKINGH (L.).

Pessconing is perhaps the same stem as *paskohamen,* ball (Speck), + *hacki,* land, *ing,* at, hence, "at the place of the ball," *i. e.,* "where ball is played."

PESSENEWINNING (L.).

Meaning uncertain. *Pessen* may be the stem signifying half way, half (Br., 105; Zr., 89), but

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[55] It is called Dublin Creek on Holme's *Map* and on a map of 1846 based on Holme; Thomas (1689) calls it Dublin River. There was an Indian chief called *Pemhake.* Nelson, *Indians,* 150.

[56] The Indian form of Pepacating is doubtful. *Pepach-gank-ing* is quite probable and this could easily be corrupted into Pepacating, but *Papachesing,* "at the place of the woodpecker," is also a possible stem.

I am unable to offer an interpretation for the last stem.

1. Mint Island, at mouth of Scotts Creek, Bucks County, Pa. (See above, p. 164, note 33.)

PETAPSKWI, PETAPSQUI,

signifying "back-water, or tide-water, covered with froth." (Heck.)

1. Patapsco, Maryland.

PETHAMOCK, PATHOMOK,

signifying "they come by water." (Heck., Cf. Brinton, *Dict.*, 38, 103–4, 149; Zr., 40).

1. Potomac River.

PIM-TOM-INK, PIME-TOM-ING, PIMTOM.

Pimeu, piniechen, slanting, oblique, German, *schief* (Br., 116; Zr., 207); *pimochqueu,* turned, twisted (Br., 116), + *ink,* where, at, hence, signifying "where the twisted one was." Heckewelder tells us that he knew the man whose deformity gave rise to the name of the creek. The Indian "had a crooked mouth," hence, Pymatuning Creek really means "the stream at the place of the man with a crooked mouth."

1. Pymatuning Creek, Mercer County, Pa. (called Auskauking Creek on Howell's *Map*).
2. Pompton, N. J.

PIMUNGA,

signifying "at the sweating place." *Pihm, pim,* to sweat (Br. 115), + *ung* (*ink*), where, at.

1. Pamunky, Maryland.

PISGATTAUWI (Heck. *Names*).

Cf. *pisgeu, piskeu,* dark (Br., 117; Zr., 52, 129), *tauwiechen,* to open (Zr., 135; Br., 139), hence, "to open the darkness," *i. e.,* "to let in the light."

1. Piscataway, N. J. 2. An Indian tribe (Piscatowa, and other forms) which came from the south and had settlements "near the head of the Patomok." They are often mentioned in conferences with the government of Pennsylvania in 1700–50. 3. An Indian village (Piscatua, etc., *Pisgata-wing*), the home of the Piskatowa tribe in the south.

PIKSU-WAKSEN, PIXUWAXEN, PIKSUWAXEN.

Piksu, pixu (Zr., 158; Br. 117), + *wuskhaksen, wuskhaxen* (stem *wuski,* new), new shoe (Br. 177; Zr., 172), hence, "new or newly torn-shoes."

1. Piccowaxen, Maryland.

PLEU-PEK, or PLEU-HANNE,

"the turkey stream," or "turkey spring." *Pleu,* turkey, *tupek, pek,* spring, or stream; *hanne,* creek. (See *Pleu-icke.*)

1. Probably the name of the little run, on which the Indian town of Playwicky was located. See *Pleu-icke.*

PLEU-ECKE,[57] PLEU-ICK-ING.

Ploeu, pleu, bloeu (sound of the initial letter varying between *b* and *p*), turkey (Zr., 206; Br.,

[57] Vogler gives the name as Play-oo-heeky-oo, and the meaning as "a place where turkeys are plenty." Henry, *Names.* Heckewelder derives Playwicky from *Ploeu-wickit* (*Pleu-wickit*) and

26), + *ique, ike, ecke,* full of, hence, meaning "full of turkeys," "plenty of turkeys," "the place which is full of turkeys."

1. Playwicky Indian Town.[58]

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says that it means "the habitation (village) of those who are of the turkey tribe." This, however, was not a village of the Turkey Tribe, but of the Turtle Tribe. *Pleu-wickit* would mean, "home of the turkey" (*ploeu, pleu,* turkey, Br., 26, Zr., 206, + *wickit, wik,* house, home, Br., 158, Zr., 97), and it is quite possible to derive Playwicky from those stems, meaning "home or habitat of the turkey;" practically the same significance as *Pleu-icke* (*Pleu-ick-ing*), the "place of plenty of turkeys."

[58] The location of this Indian Town, perhaps the largest and most important historically in Bucks County, was long a matter of conjecture. It now seems definitely settled as being on the farm of Winder Vanartsdalen, in Southampton Township, three miles west of Langhorne, Bucks County, Pa. Dr. H. C. Mercer, prominent archæologist and well-known authority on early Indian matters, has kindly furnished me with the following note:

"The much discussed site of the Indian Town Playwicky, may be said to have been established with reasonable certainty, by facts presented at the meeting of the Bucks County Hist. Society, at the Vanartsdalen Farm, June 16, 1923, as follows:

"An attempt by J. B. Smith of Newtown, in 1883, to fix the site, by inference from the Proprietary deed of 1682, at the so-called Indian Field east of Wrightstown (cf. *Bucks County Hist. Society Papers,* I, 95), and another attempt to find it by H. C. Mercer, in 1891, by inference from a note in the *Watson MSS.*, by John Watson, the surveyor, as 'an Indian Town or Plantation about Philip Draycot's, below Heaton Mill' (cf. *ibid.,* II, 130), had failed.

"No further light was thrown upon the subject until 1919, or 1920, when Albert Cook Myers discovered several notes in William Penn's handwriting, stating that the land or house of his friend Cuthbert Hursts, in 1683, was 'above three miles from ye Indian Town called Playwicken.' This fresh information was communicated by Mr. Myers to Warren S. Ely, who thereupon established the site of the Hursts holding, as upon the steep left bank of Neshaminy Creek, just below Mill Creek, and further fixed the Philip Draycot tract, referred to by Watson in 1750, as included in the present (1925) farms of A. C. Emlen and Thomas Larue.

"The field of search having been thus narrowed down to a region near the Emlen farm, and between it on the East, Neshaminy Creek on the West and Mill Creek on the North, H. C. Mercer was asked by Mr. Myers (1920–1921) to examine the area for archæological evidence that might definitely identify the Playwicky site. Whereupon Mr. Mercer, being then prevented by illness from

POCH-KA-POCH-KA, PUCH-KA-PUCH-KA, BUCH-KA-BUCH-KA, etc.

Pemapuchk; stem *puchk, puck,* rock (Br., 111, 128; Zr., 160); *puch-ka-puch-ka,* rock by rock, hence, "the creek between the rocks," "as is the case of this creek at the Water Gap."

1. Pohopoco, or Big Creek, Carbon County, Pa.

POCHO-WEHELLEON,

"flowing between hills or rocks," "a stream near the Delaware Water Gap." (Henry, *Names.*)

1. Durham Creek, Bucks County, Pa.

POEKSKOS-SING, POEXKOS-SINK (Vogler),

"where hickory nuts were cracked."

1. Pocasie Creek, or Indian Creek, Montgomery County, Pa. 2. Perkasie Manor, Bucks County, Pa. Pocasie Creek passed through this Manor.

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making the search, referred the facts to Matthias H. Hall, who, after walking over the ground several times, in the fall of 1920, by letter to H. C. Mercer, dated Dec. 22, 1920, first definitely called attention to the Vanartsdalen farm as the probable site.

"This conclusion was further established by a large collection of Indian Relics gathered on the Vanartsdalen and neighboring farms, purchased by Colonel Henry D. Paxson from the Vanartsdalens, about twenty years before, and by H. C. Mercer's personal survey of the tract referred to, detailed by him in a paper, presented June 16th, 1923, at the meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society, above referred to.

"Doylestown, Pa., Jan. 30, 1925. H. C. Mercer."

At the same meeting of the Bucks County Hist. Society a paper was also read by Albert Cook Myers in which he presented the historical side of the case, while Colonel Paxson exhibited his collection of Indian relics, gathered on and near the site of the town. See Programme of Summer Meeting, etc. Cf. also *Bucks County Daily News,* June 18, 1923; *Bucks County Intelligencer,* June 18, 1923.

POINPISSINGH (L.).

Probably a cognate of *pommi-peso,* thin strip of wood, sapling (?), + *ing,* hence, "at the place of saplings."

1. District at Pompeston Creek, N. J. 2. Pompeston[59] Creek, N. J.

POKHA-HACK-ING,

"at the hollow ground." Stem (*pokhaweu*) meaning hollow (Br., 118), + *hacki, haki,* ground (Br., 47), + *ing,* at.

1. Pochack Creek, N. J.

POKA-WACHNE,[60] POCKHA-WACHLE,[60] POAHO-QUALIN, BOKHA-KWAL-ING, etc.

Pokho-wache is defined by Brinton as "a creek between two hills," *i. e.,* "a valley creek" (Br., 118), while Henry translates *Poahoqualin* as "a gap through the mountains" (Henry, *Names*). Cf. *packsajeck,* valley; *pachsegink,* in the valley, *pokhakenikan,* grave. (Brinton, *Dict.,* 105, 118, 150; Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 215).

1. Paoli, Pa. 2. Peoquolin. 3. An Indian town in the South Mountains.

POKHA-HANNE, POKO-HANNE.

Pokhaweu, valley, hollow (Br., 118), + *hanne,* creek, hence, "the valley creek" (cf. *Poka-wachne,* Br., 118). Pocono Mountain took its name from the creek. It would also be possible to derive the name from *pema-puchk* (stem,

[59] This is probably from *Pompes-tank* (*tonk*), same meaning as above. (For *tank,* see *Pekstank.*)

[60] The *l* and *n* are at times confused in the documents.

puchk, pochk, meaning rock, Br., 111, 129). In that case it would mean "the rock or mountain stream" and Pocono Mountain would mean the rock mountain.

1. Pocono Creek, Monroe County, Pa. 2. Bohundy Creek (see Scull's *Map*).

POKWEMOKA, POCQUEMOKE,

signifying "the place where clams are found," or "the place of clams." *Pocqueu, pokweu,* clam, muscle (Zr., 37; Br., 118), + *mochgamen, mockamen,* to find (Br., 86).

1. Pocomoke, Maryland.

POKWES-ING, POKES-SINK, POQUAYSINK (Vogler), POETQUESSINK (old survey, 1702), PONTQUESINK, PASAQUESSING (*Doc.*, XII, 500), POTQUESSIN (*Map,* 1846, based on Holme), POETQUESING (1680), POAETQUESSINGH (L.), etc.

Achpoques, achpiques, stem, *poques, pokwes,* mouse (Zr., 126; Br., 12; Zeisberger, *Essay,* 14; MSS. in Am. Philo. Society; Vogler in Henry, *Names*), + *ing* (*ink*), at, hence, "at the place of the mouse," or "at the place of mice." There was probably an Indian village on the creek by that name and the real meaning had perhaps faded in early times.

1. Poquessing Creek, Bucks County, Pa.

POK-WET-ING, POQUETING,

"one mountain near another, forming a valley" (Henry, *Names*).[61]

[61] *Pequeting* may be a corruption of *Poquesing,* hence, meaning "the place of mice."

POPPEDICKON,
"iron stone place" (?), Henry, *Names.*

P'TUCK-HANNE, P'TUK-HANNE, P'DUC-HANNE.
P'tuk, p'tuck, bent, round, curved (Zr., 162; Br., 120), + *hanne,* hence, signifying "a winding or crooked stream or creek."
1. Tucquan creek, Lancaster County, Pa.

P'TUK-WOMP-UNK.
P'tuk, puttuck, stem meaning round, curved (cf., Br., 120; Zr., 162, Williams, *Key,* 47), + stem meaning swamp, bog (cf. *wompaso, wompasket,* Trumbull, *Names,* 77), hence, "the round bog." The word was corrupted by the English to Buckwampum, as the Indian sound combination suggested this compound word to the English ear.
1. Buckwampum Hill, eastern part of Springfield Township, Bucks County, Pa. (See Buck, *Hist. of Bucks County* (1855), 704). There is a bog or swamp on top of the mountain, hence the Indian name.

PUNK-ASTAN-NING, PUNKASTANNUNG.
Punk, powder.
1. Punxatawny Indian village, Jefferson County, Pa. (See Post, *Journal.*)

RIDDARE KIJLEN (L.),
"the knight's river." *Riddare* (Swed.), knight, + *kijl* (Dutch), river, + *-en* (Swed. def. encl. article), the.
1. Maurice River, N. J.

RANCOQUES KIJL (L.).

Rancoques, Rankokwes, was an Indian tribe living on the creek, hence, the name of the stream; (the name of the village on the creek was written *Ramcock* (Evelin), possibly a mistake for *Rankocking.* Perhaps the word is from the stem meaning kinsman (*langoma, rankoma,* Br., 60), + *eke,* plenty, + *kijl,* creek, hence, "the creek where there are many kinsmen." The name of the tribe would then mean kinsmen.

1. Rancocas Creek, N. J.

RAM-APUCK, LAMAU-APUCHK, etc.,

"the slanting rock." *Remowa, lamowo,* slanting (Zr., 175; Br., 60), + *apuchk-* (*pemapuchk*), rock (Zr., 160; Br., 111).

1. Romopack, now Ramapo, N. J.

SAK-UNK, SAK-ONK (Heck., *Names,* 357).

Sakuwit, sakwihillak, mouth of a creek or river (Zr., 126; Br., 124), + *unk,* at, hence, signifying "at the mouth of the creek." This name was then erroneously applied to the creek itself by the Whites.

1. Saucon Creek (called Brown Creek by Weisser, 1748), Northampton County, Pa. 2. Sacony Creek, Berks County, Pa. 3. Sakunk, Sacconk, etc., an Indian village at the junction of Beaver Creek with Ohio River, in Beaver County, Pa. Fort McIntosh was erected there in 1778. (Henry, *Names.*)

SAKWEK-HANNE, SAUKWEK-HANNE,

"the two mouthed stream." For derivation, see *Sak-unk.* (*Sak-wek,* pl.)

1. Big Sewickly Creek, Westmoreland County, Pa.

SALUNGA,
"shortened from *Chickisualunga.* See also *Salunge,* below.

SALUNGE (L.).
Lindeström's *Salunge* was on the south bank of Christina Creek. There is a *Salunga* in Lancaster County, Pa. (See *Chickisualunga.*) Perhaps *Kaijaka* and *Salunge* on Lindeström's *Map* (A) go together, as in the case of *Chickisualunga.* Heckewelder says that this name means "the place of the crawfish." *Salunge(a)* would then be from a stem meaning crawfish. (Cf. *shahamuis,* crawfish, Br., 126.)

SANCKHICKAN (L.).
The word has been interpreted as meaning gun lock (see Brinton, *Dict.,* 124; *Legends,* 44; Nelson, *Indians,* 65, 102). It is undoubtedly composed of the stems *sanck-, sank-,* fire-stone, flint-rock,[62] flint[63] (Ruttenber, *Names,* 47), + *hickan, hikan,* the end of the flow, ebb tide, hence, "flint rock ebb tide," or "the flint rocks at the end of

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[62] Any small piece of flint like an arrow head or tool or piece to be worked into a tool, apparently contained this stem. (Cf. Brinton, *Dict.,* 72.)

[63] Zeisberger and Brinton give *mahellis, mahales* for flint (Br., 71; Zr., 76). However, Brinton also gives *mallsannuk* as meanning flint; stem *sannuk, sank. Sank-hickan* meaning gun lock must refer to the flint part of the lock (*sank,* the small piece of flint striking the fire, + *hickan,* the end of the opening of the gun, hence, the flint at the end of the opening of the gun, which would be the gun lock). *Glick-hikan,* according to Heckewelder, means "the stud, or sight on a gun barrel." (Heck., *Narratives,* 270.)

the tide"[64] (the tide does not go above the rocks).

1. District on the Delaware between Biles and Moon Islands, as indicated by Lindeström. 2. Trenton, New Jersey. 3. Island opposite Trenton, N. J. See *Nahanen.* 4. Indian Tribe near Trenton. (Cf. *Assinping.*)

SANK-HANNE, SANK-HANNEK.

Sank, flint, small piece of flint (see *Sanck-hickan*), + *hanne,* creek, hence, the flint stream.

1. Sankinac Creek, present Tar Run, below Weisport, Carbon County, Pa.

SASSAEKON (L.),

perhaps stem of *sasappis,* firefly (Br., 124), + stem in *hickan* (cf. Brinton, Dict., 48, 124). *Sassa* also means straight ahead (Speck), + *ekon, ekonck,* would then mean "at the place that is right ahead."

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps.*

SCHALMUTZKIJLEN (L.).

Schalmutz looks like a Dutch-German compound word. *Schaal* (Dutch), shell, + *Mütze* (German), *muts* (Dutch), *mössa* (Swed.), cap, hence, "shell-cap;" but it is undoubtedly the Indian word which Zeisberger preserves as *schahamuis* (Zr., 48; Br., 126), meaning crawfish, hence, (+ *kijl*) meaning "the crawfish creek." (See *Mehan-hickan.*)

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[64] In New York we find the name as *Sank-henak* (corrupted into Saukenak).

SELEHEND, SINUEHUND,
signifying "where milking is done" (Heck., *Names*).

1. Serechen.

SEMOCKAN (L.).
Semokan, simaquon, "corn stalk." (Zr., *Essay,* 29; Br., 132.) The place was given this name from the fact, perhaps, that it had been a corn field.

1. Place between Naamans Creek and Chester Creek.

SHACHA-MES-INK, SHACHA-MEK-SINK, SHAKAMAXEN (1680).
The derivation of this word is uncertain. It may come from *Shachamek, shakamik, w'shackamek, lit.* "it is a straight fish,"[65] an eel (Zr., Br., 125) + *ink,* at or where, hence, meaning "at the place of eels." It may also come from *sakima, sachemen,* etc., chief, king (Br., 123; Zr., 108) + *ink* (with glide), at, where, in which case the meaning would be "where the kings are," or "at the meeting place of kings." The former derivation is the most likely, however.

1. Shackamaxon, near Kensington (cf. Proud; *Cata.* (1851), p. 46).

SHACHA-MEK-INK, SHACHA-MEK-HANNE, SHAKA-MEK-HANNE.
Shach-amek, eel, + *ink,* at, hence, "at the place of eels." See *Sha-cha-mes-ink; Shach-amok-*

[65] Holm gives it as "*tzackem (tzackemes) alias,* eel; [there are] not many large ones [in the country] but small and nearly dry" (*i.e.,* not slimy or slippery). *Kort Beskrifning,* 164.

hanne, the eel stream.[65a] During the early Colonial period, the stream and place were called *Schach-he-na-men-di,* signifying "the place where gun-barrels are straightened." (Cf. Reichel, *Names,* 42.)

1. Shamokin, or Sunbury Creek. 2. Shamokin Indian trail.

SHANOPPEN.

Indian town and great trading place about two miles from Pittsburgh. (See Hodge, *Handbook,* II, 526.)

SHAUWEMINSH-HANNE, SHAUWEMINSHI-HANNE.

Shauweminshi, red beech tree (Zr., 20), + *hanne,* creek, hence, signifying "the red beech creek."

1. Beech Creek, Centre County, Pa.

SHEKUNDOWA (?).

An Indian town about five or six miles below Wilkes-Barre. This name was also applied to the Susquehanna River, meaning "the great flats (river)." (Henry, *Names.*)

SHESHEKWAN-ING.

Sheshekwa, gourd rattle (Hodge, *Handbook,* II, 545), + *ing,* at, hence, "at the place of the gourd rattle," possibly referring to a field or place where these rattles grew in abundance, rather than, as Gerard suggests, "to some practices of the pagan Indians who lived at that place."

[65a] Heck., *Names,* 363.

1. It was the name of an Indian village of mixed population on the site of present Ulster, Bradford County, Pa. 2. Shesheguen Flats.

SHIND-HANDOWI, SHEND-OWIK (?),
signifying "the sprucy stream," *i. e.*, a stream flowing past spruce-pines. (Heck., *Names;* cf. *schind, shind,* spruce, Br., 128; Zr., 181; *schindikeu,* spruce forest, or "plenty of spruce.")

1. Shenandoah River, Maryland.

SHKI-PACK, SHKI-PEK.
Shki, ski, urine, filth (Zr., 144), *shkiwan,* to urinate (Zr., 144; Br., 130), + *papeek, popek, papik,* pond, pool (Br., 109, quoting Zeisberger), hence, signifying a pool or pond of evil smelling or offensive water.

1. Skippack Creek, Montgomery County, Pa. 2. Muddy Creek, Butler County, Pa.

SHOWIHILLA, SHAUWIHILLA, SHAUWIHILLEU,
"it withers, it is weak, it faints;" *shauwussin,* faint (German, *schwach,* Br., 126; Zr., 71), hence, signifying "the place where one was weak, faint, or depressed;" probably receiving its name from the fact that some chief became ill at a place near the creek.

1. Shohola Creek, Pike County, Pa.

SHOHAKAN-INK, SCHOHAKAN, SHOHACAN.
Shohakan, mesukhoakan, glue (Br., 82, 130; Zr., 84), + *ink,* where, or at, hence, signifying "where there is glue," perhaps the name originated from the fact that glue was made or found there.

1. Shohoken Creek, Wayne County, Pa.

SHUMIN-ONK, OSHUMMON-ONK.

W'schummo, oshummo, horn (Br., 104, 168; Zr., 96), + *onk,* at, or where, hence, signifying "at the horn," or "the place of the horn."

1. Sammanonk Creek, Bucks County, Pa.

SIKHEWI-MAHONI, SIKEI-MAHONI.

Sikey, sikei, salt (Zr., 164; Br., 130, 132), + *mahoni,* lick, salt lick, deer lick (Zr., 114; Br., 71). *Sikei-hanne,* also used for this creek, means "salt creek."

1. Salt Lick Creek, Fayette County, Pa.

SINNIGEN-HANNE, SINNIKE-HANNE.

Achsinnigeu, sinniki, stony (Br., 13, 35; Zr., 184), hence, signifying stony creek.

1. Senegar Creek, Maryland.

SINNI-HANNE, ESSENI-HANNE, ACHSIN-HANNE,

"stony creek," or "a creek full of stones." (For derivations, see *Achsinni-hanne,* and *Achsinni-mahoni.*) The modern names are translations and corruptions of the Indian:

1. Stony Creek, Somerset County, Pa. (See *Achsinni-hanne* for other names.) 2. Stony Run, Berks County, Pa. 3. Rock Creek. 4. Rock Run, Clearfield County, Pa.

SINNI-MAHONING,

"at the stony salt-lick." (For derivation, see *Achsinni-mahoni.*)

1. Sinnemahoning Creek, Clinton County, Pa. The word means, "at the stony salt lick creek."

SINNI-PEHELLE, SINNIGE-GELLE.

Achsinnigeu, esseni, stony (see *Sinnike-hanne*), + *pehelleu,* water in motion (Br., 120, 133; Zr., 222), hence, signifying "the stony water course," or "stony falls."

1. Senegar Falls.

SINSESSINGH (L.),

"at the place of the wild cat" (?). Probably from *sinques,* wild cat, lynx (Holm. *Kort Beskrifning,* 163), + *ing,* at.

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps.*

SIPAESSINGZLANDH (L.).

The fact that Dankers and Sluyter record the name as Chepiessingh complicates the derivation, indicating that the stem is *chip, tship* (as often written by Zeisberger and Heckewelder, see Brinton, *Dict.,* 145). If this is the stem (*shipi, chipi,* ghost, spirit, dead body, Br., 45; Zr., 83), + *ing,* at, the word means "the land at the place of the ghost," or "at the place of the dead body." It is probable, however, that Dankers and Sluyter mistook the pronunciation,[66] especially as Lindeström, Campanius and Heckewelder write the initial syllable *sip,* stem meaning plum, hence, Sipaessingzlandh means "the land at the place of plums," or "the plum tree land" (see *Sipuasing,* also pp. 167, note 45; 156, note 14, above.)

1. Part of Falls Township, Bucks County, Pa.

[66] Burlington Island was, among other names, called *Chichohacki.* Dankers and Sluyter may have heard this name and thus confused the initial syllables of *Chichohacki* and *Sipuassing.* (See *Chichohacki.*)

SIPAESSING KIJL (L.), SIPUS-HANNE, SIPUAS-SIPU.
"The plum tree creek." (For derivation, see *Sipuas-ing. Kijl* is Dutch for creek; *hanne* means creek or river.)

1. Scotts Creek (also at times called Wilson's Creek, Governor's Creek, and other names). 2. Plum Creek, Armstrong County, Pa. 3. Plum Run, Clinton County, Pa. 4. Plum Creek, Armstrong County, Pa. 5. Plum Run, Clinton County, Pa.

SEPA HACKINGH (L.),
"at the place of the plum," or "the plum tree land." *Sipaus, sipuosac, sipuos, sepaus,* etc. (Brinton's *Dict.,* 132; *Vocab. of lang. of the Nolloway tribe,* March 1820, etc., Am. Philo. Society), + *hacki,* land, planted ground, + *ing,* at.

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps.*

SIPUAS-ING, SIPUOS-INK, SEPAES-ING.
Sipuos, sipuas, wild plum (Br., 132; Zeisberger has *sipuamantican* for "wilde rothe Pflaume." Zr., 145; cf. Br., 105), + *ink,* where, at, hence, "at the place of plums."

1. Biddle's Island (called *Chepiessingh Eijlant* by Dankers and Sluyter and *Sepassineck* (*Soepassinck*), in deed to Wm. Penn, July 15, 1682; see above pp. 156, 167; also *Sipaessingzlandh*).

SISILI-HANNE.
Sisiliya, buffalo (Br., 132; Zr., 29), + *hanne,* creek, signifying "buffalo creek," perhaps from the fact that its banks were the resort of buffalos.

1. Buffalo Creek, Armstrong County, Pa. 2.

Buffalo Creek, Union County, Pa. 3. Buffalo Run, Centre County, Pa.

SIS-PECK, SIS-HANNE.

Assisku, mud, clay, *assiskuyu,* muddy, dirty (Br., 23; Zr., 126), + *pappek,* pond, pool (Br., 109; Zr., 146), hence, signifying "muddy pond or pool," also a sluggish, muddy river or creek. 1. Suspecaugh Creek, N. J. 2. Christiana (Christina) Creek,[66a] Delaware. (Henry, *Names.*)

SKWEDORA (?) (Iroq.),

"great plain." (Henry, *Names.* Cf. *Shekundowa.*)

1. Swatara Creek, Dauphin County, Pa.

SWA-PECK-SISKO,

"white clay."

1. White Clay Creek. (See Ferris, *Settlements,* 293.)

TACHQUAHACANENA, TSCHKWAHAKANENA, etc.

Tachquoahoacan, tachquahoakan, takwahakan, mortar, pounding block, *tachquohoaken, tachquohemen,* to grind, to pound (Zr., 87, 125; Br., 135), hence signifying "at the pounding block, or mortar." Perhaps the name originated from the fact that there were many gum trees there (*tachquahoakaniminshi*) from which mortars were made (Br., 135, cf. *Achkwahoakanono*).

1. Achquakenuna,[67] N. J.

[66a] This was usually called *Minquas Kijl,* Minquas Creek.

[67] Henry states that League Island was called *Achquakokanona,* "where pounding blocks are made," and refers to Hazard, *Register,* I, 180, as his authority; but I am unable to find the statement there.

Tamakonck (L.),
"the place of the beaver" (for derivation, see *Amochk-pahas-ing*).
1. New Castle, Delaware.

Tamakwe-hanne, Tamak-hanne, Tamachk-sipu (?), Amochkwe-hanne, Amochk-sipu (s),
"beaver creek or river." (For derivation, see *Amochk-hanne.*)
1. Beaver Creek, Lancaster County, Pa. 2. Little Beaver Creek, Schuylkill County, Pa. (This creek was, perhaps, called *Tang-amochk-hanne,* by the Indians.) 3. Beaver Run (*Tang-amochk-ing*), or Little Beaver Creek (Henry, *Names*). 4. Beaver Run, Westmoreland County, Pa. 5. Beaver Run, York County, Pa. 6. Little Schuylkill was also called by the above Indian name. (Heck., *Names,* 361.)

Tang-amochk-hanne.
Tanggeti, tangitti, tanketo, tangetto, small, little (Zr., 115; Br., 138), + *hanne,* river, hence,
1. Little Beaver Creek, Beaver County, Pa.

Tanga-nis-hann-ock,
"little forked creek." (See *Tang-hanne* and *Nish-ann-ock,* for derivations.)
1. Little Neshannock Creek, Lawrence County. (Henry, *Names.*)

Tanga-wil-hanne,
"the little head creek." (For derivation, see *Tanga-amochk-hanne* and *Wil-ing.*)
1. Little Wheeling Creek, Washington County, Pa.

TANG-HANNE, TANK-HANNE, TANG-HANN-EK.
Tangitti, tanketo, tanggeteo, little, small (Zr., 115; Br., 138), + *hanne,* hence, signifying "the small creek or river." The smallest of two arms of a river was generally referred to as *Tank-* (*tang-*) *hannek.* (Cf. Heck., *Names,* 358.)

1. Tunkhanne Creek, Monroe County, Pa. 2. Tunkhanne Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 3. Bowman's Creek, Wyoming County, Pa. (See Howell's *Map.*) 4. Tunkhannock Creek, Wyoming County, Pa.

TANGI-LECHAUWAK-HANNE,
"the little forked river." (For derivation, see *Tang-hanne* and *Lechau-hanne.*)

1. Little Lehigh Creek, Lehigh County, Pa.

TANGI-MAHONI,
"little lick" (see *Mahoni* and *Tang-hanne*).

1. Little Mahoney Creek, Northumberland County, Pa. 2. Little Mahonelly Creek, Union County, Pa. (This may come from Mahonetti, diminutive of Mahoning.)

TANGI-MES-HANNE, TANGI-NAMES-HANNE,
"little fish creek." (See *Tang-hanne* and *Names-hanne,* for derivation.)

1. Little Fishing Creek, Columbia County, Pa.

TANGI-MOOS-HANNE.
Tang, little, + *moos,* elk, or moose (Zr., 65), + *hanne,* creek, hence, signifying "little elk," or "moose creek."

1. Little Moshannon, Centre County, Pa.

TANG-NES-MAHONI,
"little black lick." (See *Tang-hanne* and *Neskahoning,* for derivation.)
1. Little Black Lick Creek, Cambria County, Pa.

TANGI-OLAK,
"little gap," or "little hole" (Henry, *Names.* See *Tangi-olak-ing*).
1. Tallioheio.

TANGI-OLAK-ING,
"in the little valley." *Tangi,* small, little, + *olak, oalak,* hole, valley, + *ing,* at, in (see *Tanghanne,* and *Olak-ong*).
1. Tanguscoling Creek, Clinton County, Pa.

TANGI-SHACHA-MOKE,
"the place of little eels" (see *Shacha-mes-ing*).
1. Little Shamokin Creek, Northumberland County, Pa.

TANGI-TUPPEK-HANNE,
"little spring or pond creek" (see *tang-hanne* and *Tuppek-hanne,* for derivation).
1. Spring Brook, Luzerne County, Pa.

TANGI-WALLAM-INK,
"at the little paint place" (see *Wallam-ink*).
1. Little Paint Creek, Somerset County, Pa.

TANG-TENNAK-ONCK,
"at the little island." (See *Matinnek-onck* for derivation.)
1. Little Tinicum Island, Delaware County, Pa.

TANG-UNACH-KWENES-ING,
"at the little long place." (See *Tang-hanne,* and *Gunach-kwenes-ink,* for derivation.)
1. An Indian Town (*Col. Rec.,* V., 782). 2. Little Conoquenessing Creek, Butler County, Pa.

TANG-WUNSH-HANNE, TANKA-WUMSH-HANNE, etc.
Tang, little (Br., 138), + *gawunsh,* brier (Zr., 28), +*hanne,* creek, hence,
1. Little Brier Creek, Jefferson County, Pa.

TANUNNOGAO (?) (Iroq.),
"full of hickory" (Henry, *Names*). On Howell's *Map,* it is *Ishunwangwandt.*
1. Tunungwen Creek, McKean County, Pa.

TASCKHOCKUNG (L.).
It means, perhaps, "at the land or field on high ground." For location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A).

TAWUNDE-UNK, TAUWUND-INK.
Tawwunasin, tauwunasin, to bury; *tauwundin,* burial place, *lit.,* "to put under [ground]" (Zr., 30; Br., 139), *ink* (*unk*), where, at, hence, meaning "at the burial place" (in this case, the burial ground of the Nanticokes. Heck., *Names,* 362). This name was then applied to the river or creek near by.
1. Towanda Creek, Bradford County, Pa.

TEKOKE (L.).
The word means "choppy waves, or the place where waves are choppy" (Speck); but this hardly seems to fit, as choppy would not be char-

acteristic of the small creek to which it refers. See Lindeström's *Maps*. Perhaps it is from the stem *toghk, tak, tek,* etc., meaning woods, forest, wild land, etc. Cf. *Potkoke, tekene, takone, tekenick,* woods, forest, uninhabited place (Br., 140; Zr., 78; cf. also Ruttenber, *Names,* 52), hence, it would mean "the uninhabited place."

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps*.

TEHACKOTESSINGH (L.).

The word, means, perhaps, "where wood is cut." (For stems, see Brinton, *Dict.,* 140, 147; Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 50, 234.)

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Maps*.

TENNAKONCK, TINNEKONCKS[68] EIJLANDH (L.).

Lindeström's forms are likely abbreviations of *Matennak-onck, Matinek-onk, Metanak-onk,* etc., which has been interpreted to mean "along the edge of the island" (Ruttenber, *Names* 96; for stem, see Brinton, *Dict.,* 81; Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 106). Perhaps the island was used as a landing place by the natives, or they might have had their camping grounds on the island, or a village on the island, at the edge of the water, which they designated as "at the edge of the island." This name was then applied by the colonists to the island itself. Possibly the words *Tennakonck, Tinnekonck, Matinekonk,* had been used so long by the Indians for the place that it had lost its original meaning even to them and simply implied island.

[68] The Indians at Tinicum Island (*Tennakonck*) may have pronounced the name a little differently from those at Burlington Island (*Tinnekonck*).

1. Tinicum Island, Delaware County, Pa. 2. Burlington Island (see *Matine-k-onk*). 3. Tinicum Island (in the Delaware), Bucks County, Pa. 4. Tinicum Township, Bucks County, Pa.

TENAKONS-KIJL, TENEKON-SIPUS,
"the island creek." *Tenekon,* island (see *Tennakonck*), + *kijl* (Dutch), creek.

1. Darby Creek, Delaware County, Pa. 2. Tinicum Creek (*Tinne-k-ong*), Bucks County, Pa.

TIAOGA (?) (Iroq.),
"gate or place of entrance," applied by the six nations to a wedge of land situated between or within the forks of the North Branch of the Susquehanna and the Tioga Rivers. The Tioga River then derived its name from this strip of land. (See *Tiodachton.*)

1. Tioga River, Tioga County, Pa. 2. Tioga County, Pa. 3. Tioga, a village. (The name is now common.)

TIODACHTON, TIODOGHTON (deed to Penn.),
"the forks" (Henry, *Names,* cf. *Tiaoga*).

1. Now called Pine Creek (from *Kuwe-hanne*), Lycoming County, Pa.

TO-HICK-HAN, TO-HICK-HANNE, TOOKEEKON (Vogler),
signifying, according to Heckewelder, "the drift-wood stream;" "the stream over which we pass by means of the bridge of drift-wood." (Heck., *Names,* 345; cf. *tachan,* wood, Zr., 234; for drift, see Zeisberger, *Dict.,* 61.) But Rev. Vogler took exception to Heckewelder's deriva-

tion and said it meant "deer-bone" (Henry, *Names*), + *henne,* "deer-bone creek." (Cf. Brinton, *Dict.,* 14, 166.)

1. Tohickon Creek, Bucks County, Pa. 2. Tomhickon Creek, Schuylkill County, Pa. (Perhaps from *Tombik-hanne,* which see.)

TOMBIK-HANNE.

Tombican, wild apple, crab apple (Zr., 48; Br., 142), + *hanne,* stream, creek, hence, signifying "crab-apple stream," or "wild apple creek."

1. Tombicon Creek.

TOMBIKON-ALL-ING, TOMBIKAN-ING,

"the place of crab apples." (See *Tombik-hanne.*)

1. Crab Apple Run, Fayette County, Pa.

TUCKWI-MENS-ING, P'TUCKWI-MINSH-ING,

"at the place of the black walnut trees," or "at the place of the trees of the round nuts." *P'tukquiminschi* (Br., 120), *t a c k q u i m e n s i* (Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 166), black walnut. *P'tuk* (the form in Brinton) means round (cf. *p'tukhikan,* round ball, *p'tukquinschu,* bowl, *p'tukschummen,* to cut round), but from Holm's definition it might seem that this is a mistake for the stem meaning black, *sukeu, suksit*[69] (Br., 134), + *mensi, minshi,* tree (Br., 120, 126, etc.; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 166, etc.), + *ing,* at.

1. Tooqueminsey, Indian town in Solebury Township, Bucks County, Pa. The approximate

[69] *Ptuk,* perhaps, refers to the round nuts (*p'tukquim,* walnut, Br., 120) and *p'tuckwi-menshi,* would then mean "the tree of the round nuts."

location of this town was between the Delaware River and the present village of Centre-Hill, north of the upper Old York Road (following the old Indian path) in Solebury Township, Bucks County, Pa.[70] It is referred to by John Cutler in his survey, of "the 14th day of the 8th month, 1702," in which he "laid out unto William Croasdale a tract of land [250 acres] at Tooqueminsey in Soulbury Township in the county of Bucks." (Records, Land Office, Harrisburg, Pa.) William Croasdale by Deed dated the 15th of the 9th mo. 1704, conveyed this tract to Henry Paxson, who is believed to have been the first white settler to permanently locate there. From photostat copies and notes in Colonel Paxson's collection.

TOPI-HANNE.

Topi, tobi, alder tree (Zr., 8; Br., 143), + *hanne,* hence, signifying "alder tree creek," *i. e.,* a stream whose banks are covered with alder trees.

1. Tobyhanna Creek, Monroe County, Pa. (and other names). 2. Alder Run, Clearfield County, Pa.

TOTAUWEI.

The word means, according to Heckewelder, to dive and reappear. (Heck., *Names.*)

1. Totawa Falls, N. J.

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[70] Many Indian artifacts have been found in this locality, but as the existence of an Indian town here is of recent discovery, the exact location has not been determined.

TUCHA-CHOAK, TUCKA-UPOAK,
"the place where deer are shy." (Heck.) Cf. *achtu, aktu,* deer (Br., 14; Zr., 53).

1. Tuckahoe, Maryland. 2. Tuckahoe, New Jersey. 3. Tuckahoe Mountain, Pa.

TUCHA-HANNE, TUCH-HANNE,
"deer creek." See *Tucha-choak.*

1. Deer Creek, York County, Pa. 2. Deer Run, Clearfield County, Pa. (Henry, *Names.*)

TULPE-WI-SIPU, TULPE-WI-SIPUS, TULPE-WI-SIPE, TULPA-WI-HANNE, etc.
Tulpe, turpa, turtle (see *Tulpe-wi-hacki*), + *sipo(u), sipe,* river (Zr., 160; Br., 132), "turtle river, or creek," hence the English name:

1. Turtle Creek, Allegheny County, Pa. 2. Turtle Creek Boro, Allegheny County, Pa. (and other names).

TULPE-WI-HACKI.
Tulpe, turtle, water turtle (Br., 147; Zr., 206), + *hacki, haki,* land, earth (Br., 47; Zr., 110; Campanius, *Cate.;* Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 164), hence, signifying "the land or place of turtles." This name was then transferred to the creek running through the place.

1. Tulpehocken Creek, Berks County, Pa. 2. Tulpehocken town, Berks County, Pa. (and other names).

TUMME-INK.
Metimmeu, tumme, tummeu, timmeu, wolf (Zr., 234; Br., 83, 142), + *ink,* at, where, hence, signifying "the place of wolves." *Tumme-in-hanne,* "the wolf creek" (Cf. Heck., *Names,* 365).

1. Wolf Creek, Mercer County, Pa. 2. Wolf Creek, Lawrence County, Pa. 3. Wolf's Run, Beaver County, Pa.

TUPPEK-HANNE, TUPPIK-HANNE.

Tuppek, tuppik, tuppek, spring, fountain of running water (Zr., 181; cf. *tuppehelleu,* "it flows out," "it runs out," Br., 147), + *hanne,* creek, hence, signifying "a creek that comes from a spring." (Cf. Heck., *Names,* 358.) The modern names are translations and corruptions of the Indian term:

1. Tuppeekhanne (also called Trexler's Spring), near Trexlertown, Lehigh County, Pa. 2. Tappan, or Spar Kill. 3. Spring Creek, Luzerne County, Pa. 4. Spring Creek, Berks County, Pa. 5. Spring Creek, Dauphin County, Pa. 6. Cool Spring Creek, Mercer County, Pa.

UTCHEYA-HANNE, UTCHEJA.

Utchewes, utsche, sandfly, fly (Br., 149; Zr., 76), + *hanne,* hence, if this is correct, "the creek of flies," (Heck., *Names*).[71]

1. Oswaya Creek, McKean County, Pa.

WAL-INK-PAPEK,[72]

signifying "at the pond in a hollow." Cf. *Waoleck, walack, walak, woalak,* hole (Br., 150; Zr., 95), + *ink,* at, + *popek, papek,* pond (Br., 109).

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[71] But Henry without giving his authority, says: "Heckewelder mistakes this word. The stream is in the Iroquois country, near New York State. No Delawares lived there." (*Names.* See *Oscageh.*)

[72] "The word implies deep and dead water." (Heck., *Names,* 359).

1. Waullenpaupack, or Paupack Creek, Wayne and Pike Counties, Pa.

WALLAMAN-ING, WALLAM-INK (Heck., *Names*).

Allaman, walaman, paint (Zr., 138), + *ink,* where, at, hence, signifying "where there is paint, or color," a name originating, perhaps, from the fact that the Indians obtained coloring-matter at the place.

1. Paint Creek, Cambria County, Pa. 2. Paint Creek, Monroe County, Pa. 3. Analomink Creek, Monroe County, Pa. 4. Wallaloways Creek. 5. Paint Creek, N. J. "Shrauder (?) describes a paint location in 1798 in this vicinity." (Henry, *Names.*)

WEKWI-TANK, WICKQUI-TANK, WECHQUETANK,[73] WECHKWETANK, etc.

1. An Indian town on Head's Creek, Monroe County. The Indian name probably signifies "birch-bark" or "at the birch-bark," or perhaps "at the birch-trees," hence, "the town among the birches." Fort Norris was built near the town in 1756, under the direction of Benjamin Franklin.

WEEHKICK TUPPEK (Heck.).

1. Settlement by Zeisberger "called Fine Spring (*Wehick. Tuppek*), in German Shoenbrun," (Heck., *Narrative,* 118, 196).

[73] Heckewelder says that *wikuitank* was "the name of a shrub." (Heck., *Names,* 359) and Henry states that it means "a willow." *Winachk,* however, means birch-tree, according to Zeisberger, and Brinton gives *wiquey* as meaning birch bark (Zr., 24; Br., 161).

WELAGE-MIK-ING,

"at the place of the rich soil."[74] Cf. *wilawi* (stem, *wil,* head), *wulik, welhik,* rich, superior, best (Zr., 23, 159; Br., 158, 174), + stem meaning land, soil (*mik*), + *ing,* at.

1. An Indian town at or near present Nazareth, Pa., abandoned about 1748. The name was also applied to the so-called "Nazareth Tract."

WESHACHACHA-POCHKA.

Washshachcheu, weshacheu, w'shacheu, oshacheu, slippery, smooth (Zr., 176; Br., 168), + *pemapuchk, puk,* rock (Br., 111; Zr., 160), hence, meaning "slippery or smooth rock."

1. Slippery Rock Creek (*Weshachacha-pochkhanne*), Lawrence County, Pa.

WEWUNCHI-SAKWICK, WEWUNTSCHI-SAQUICK,[75]

"mouths on opposite sides." (Heck., *Names,* 371.) Cf. *wewundachqui,* on both sides, opposite (Br., 156), + *sakuwit,* mouth of a creek (Br., 124).

1. Cross Creeks, Washington County, Pa.

WINAK-HANNE, WINACHK-SIPU.

Winachk, winak, sassafras (Zr., 164; Br., 159), + *hanne* (*sipu*), creek, river, hence, signifying "the sassafras stream," or "the creek where sassafras grows."

1. Sassafras River, Maryland.

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[74] Heckewelder gives the name as *Welagamika,* "fine, rich soil." (Heck., *Names,* 359.)

[75] Henry says it means "to cross each other" (see Henry, *Names*).

WICKQUACOINGH (L.), WICKWA-KUWE-ING, WIKWA-KUW-ING.[76]

The word is from *wikwoam, wikwam* (*wikheu,* to build), home, house, camp, + *kuweu,* pine tree (see *Kuweu-hanne*), + *ing,* at, hence, "at the pine tree camp or house," so called from the fact that the natives had their huts among the pine trees. (Cf. *Kuweu-kwan-aku.*)

1. Wicocoa, Wicaco, in present Philadelphia. See above, p. 169, foot-notes 50, 54a, 60.

WICKUS-SIPPUS (L.).

Wickus, apparently means pike, pickerel (as Lindeström translates the word thus, see list of names accompanying *Map* (A), + *sippus,* small river, creek, hence, "pike creek."

1. Small Creek, less than half a mile below Common Creek (at Tullytown, Pa.), no name on the maps.

WIKOMIKA,

signifying "where houses are building" (Heck., *Names;* cf. *wikquoam, vikwan,* house, Br., 158; Zr., 97); *wikh* (?), to built a house; *wikheu,* he builds a house (Zr., 29; Brinton, *Dict.,* 157).

1. Wicomico, Maryland.

WIKWAM-ISKEU, WIKWA-MISKWU, etc.

Wikquoam, wikwoam, wikwam (*wikheu,* he builds), house, camp (Br., 157–8; Zr., 97), + *niskpeu,* to get wet (?), to be wet, hence, signi-

[76] This was corrupted to *wicacoa,* etc. Henry says that it means "where houses are building" (see *Names*), but this is certainly not correct, for Heckewelder says that *wikomika* means "where houses are building." (Heck., *Names.*)

fying, "camp or house where one gets wet." It may, however, be derived from *wikwan,* + *niskeu,* nasty, dirty (Br., 98), hence, "a dirty camp."

1. Wiconisco Creek, Dauphin County, Pa., named from a place on the creek, being a corruption of the Indian word.

WIL-ING.

Wil-, head (Br., 158; Zr., 91), + *ing,* where, at, hence, signifying "at the head," or "at the place of the head," from the fact that heads of enemies had been impaled on this creek.[77]

1. Wheeling Creek, Green County, Pa. 2. Wheeling Creek, Washington County, Pa.

WIL-IPQUIN, WIL-IPKWIN,

signifying "the place of interring skulls." (Heck.) The derivation is not clear. The word for head was *wihl, wil* (Zr., 91; Br., 158), which bears out Heckewelder's definition of head or skull. For *ipkwin,* cf. *tauwunnasin, tauwundin* (Br., 139; Zr., 30).

1. Wilipquin, Maryland.

WINGE-HACK-ING.

Wingan, sweet, savory (Zr., 189; Br., 158; cp. *wilawi,* good, rich, Br., 158), + *hacki,* land (*hakihakan,* plantation, Brinton, *Dict.,* 47), + *ing* (*ink*), at, where, hence, signifying "at the

[77] "The Indians reported that a person taken by them had been here put to death, and his head stuck upon a sharpened pole." (Henry, *Names;* cf. Heck., *Names.*)

sweet land," or "at the sweet smelling plantation."[78]

1. Wingohocking Creek, branch of Frankford Creek, Philadelphia, Pa. 2. Rich Valley Creek, Montgomery County, Pa. (Henry, *Names*).

WINKATE (L.).

Possibly from the stem *wik* to live, etc.; *wikiak,* my house, *wikit,* house, etc. (Br., 97; Zr., 157–8).

1. Apparently a small island above, or opposite Trenton, N. J. (See Lindeström's *Map* (A).)

WIRANTAPECKA KIJL (L.),

perhaps containing stems *wirri, willi,* etc., good, fine, pleasant (Trumbull, *Names,* 87; cf. Brinton, *Dict.,* 158, 172), + *tupek,* spring, etc., + *kijl* (Dutch), creek (see *Gansho-we-hanne,* note 14), hence, "the pleasant spring creek," or "the creek of the clear pond."

1. Assiscunk Creek, at Burlington, New Jersey. See *Assisk-unk.*

WISACHGIM-ING.

Wisachgim, wisachkim, grape (Zr., 86; Br., 162), + *ing,* hence, "at the place of grapes."

1. Wysox, or Wysaukin Creek (cf. Howell's *Map*), Bradford County, Pa. 2. Wysox village, Bradford County, Pa.

WISA-HICKAN.

Heckewelder writes it *Wisa-meck-han*[79] (*Names,*

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[78] Heckewelder says it means "choice land for planting or cultivating." (Heck., *Names,* 356.)

[79] Vogler has it *Wessawmayhon.* (Henry, *Names.*)

356) and interprets it to mean "cat fish creek," *wisamek,* cat-fish, + *hanne,* stream (cf. *Wisamek-ing*); but this derivation, though possible, is much less obvious than *Wisa-hickan. Wisa,* from stem meaning yellow (Brinton, *Dict.,* 48, 162), + *hickan,* flow, ebb, stream, etc., hence, meaning "yellow flow," or "the creek of the yellow or brownish banks."[80]

1. Wissahickon Creek, Philadelphia County, Pa.

WIS-AMEK-ING.

Wisamek (*wisu-* fat, + *names,* fish), fat-fish, name given to the cat-fish by the Lenapes (Br., 162–3; 90), + *ing,* at, where, hence, signifying "at the cat-fish place," "where the cat-fish are."

1. Cat-fish Creek, Clarion County, Pa. 2. Cat-fish Run, Washington County, Pa. 3. Cat-fish Camp, Indian Village on or near the site of Washington Boro (named after the half-breed chief of the village), Lancaster County, Pa.

WISCONECK (L.).

Possibly from the stem of *wisquon, wiskwon, wiskon,* elbow (Br., 163), "tobacco twist," + *eck,* at, hence, "at the tobacco twist," *i. e.,* "where tobacco was twisted." If it refers to the bank of the Delaware, it would mean at the bend of the river. See *Wiskwon-ink.*

1. For location, see Lindeström's *Map* (A).

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[80] Heckewelder also suspects this derivation, for he says, "*Wisa-wikhan,* also *Wisauchsican,* denotes a stream of yellowish colour." (See *Names,* 356.) For an interesting account of the stream, see Bicknell, *The Wissahickon in History, Song and Story.* (The City Hist. Society of Philadelphia, 1906 (1908), p. 1 ff.)

WISHANEM-UNK, WISHANEM-ING, WEESHAWNEMONK (Vogler),

"where we were frightened," or "the place of fear." (Heck., *Names.*) Cf. *wishassin,* to fear (Br., 162); *wishasnagan,* fear (Br., 162; Zr., 72).

1. Wissinoming Creek (now Tacony Creek), Philadelphia County, Pa. 2. Ridley Creek, Delaware County, Pa.

WISKWON-ING, WISQUONK (Heck., *Names*).

Wisquon, wiskwon, elbow, bend, or twist of anything (Br., 163; Zr., 64), + *ink,* at, signifying "at the bend or elbow."

1. Wisconk, New Jersey.

WOAK-SIPUS, WOAK-HANNE.

Woakstcheu, to be crooked, *woaktchinni,* to bend (Zr., 49), + *sipus* (or *-hanne*), creek, hence, "crooked creek."

1. Crooked Creek, Tioga County, Pa. 2. Crooked Creek, Armstrong County, Pa. 3. Crooked Creek, Indiana County, Pa.

WOAL-HANNE, OLO-HANNE,

"valley or hole creek" (see *Woal-pek* and *Olakong,* for derivation).

1. Hole Creek, Lebanon County, Pa.

WOAL-PEK, WAL-PEK.

Woal, walack, walak, woalak, hole (Br., 150–51, 165; Zr., 95), *tuppek,* spring, pool (Zr., 181), hence, "spring hole," or "pool-hole."

1. Walpack, N. J. 2. Walpek, Pine County, Pa.

WOAP-ACHSINN-ING, WOP-ACHSINN-ING.

Woapeu, wapsu, wopseck, white (Br., 151, 165–6; Zr., 229; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning,* 165), + *ashsin, achsin,* stone (Zr., 183; Br., 13), + *ing,* at, where, hence, signifying "at the white stones," said to allude to the deposit of silver ore at this stream.

1. Wappasuning Creek, Bradford County, Pa.

WOAP-ALANE-WACHSHIECH-HANNE, WAP-ALANNE-WACHSHIECH-HANNE.

Woapsu, wapsu, white, *woap-alane,* the bald eagle, *chauw-alanne,* fork-tailed eagle (Zr., 63; 229; Br., 27, 166), + *achshiechey, wachshiechey,* nest (Br., 13, 150), + *hanne,* creek, hence, "the bald eagle nest creek."

1. Bald Eagle Creek, Clinton County, Pa.

WOAP-ALANE-WACHSHIECHI.

For derivation, see *Waop-alanewach-shieck-hanne.*

1. Bald Eagle's Nest (a translation of the Indian word), was an Indian village "on the flats near Milesburg," Centre County, Pennsylvania, "on the Indian Path from the Great Island to Ohio." (Cf. Scull's *Map,* where it is called "The Nest.")

WOAP-PEK-MAHONI (cf. Scull's *Map*),

"white spring lick." *Woap,* white (see *Woap-tuck-hanne*), + *pek,* pond, spring (see *Tuppek*), + *mahoni,* lick (see *Mahoni*).

1. White Lick Creek, Green County, Pa.

WOAP-HALLACHP-INK, WAB-HALLOB-ANK, WAP-HALLACKP-ING, etc.

Woapsu, white (see *Woap-achsinn-ing*), + *hallachpisach, hallachpis,* hemp (Zr., 93; Br., 47), + *ink,* at, where, hence, signifying "where there is white hemp," *i. e.,* the kind which is white when dressed. (Cf. Heck., *Names,* 360.)

1. Wapwallopen, or Whopehawly Creek, Luzerne County, Pa.

WOAP'TUCH-ANNE, WOAP-ACHTU-HANNE.

Woapsu, wapsu, white (Br., 151, 166; Zr., 229), + *achtu, achto,* deer (Br., 14; Zr., 53), + *hanne,* creek, hence, signifying "white deer creek," or "the creek of the white deer."

1. White Deer Creek, Union County, Pa.

WOAP-TUCH-OLO-HANNE,

"white deer-hole creek." (Heck., *Names.*) (see *Woap'tuch-anne, Woap-pek* and *Olak-ong,* for derivation.)

1. White Deer Hole Creek, Lycoming County, Pa.

WUND-ACHGA-CHUNICK (?), UND-ACHGO-CHUNICK (?),

"at the hill this side of the water" (?), or "at the hill near the water" (?). (Cf. *wachtshu,* hill, *wachtshuwi,* hilly; *undachgamen,* "this side of the water," Br., 148, 150.)

1. Winnahawchunick, Indian town.[81]

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[81] Dr. Mercer called my attention to this Indian town in the following note, which gives the location:

". . . Mr. Albert Cook Myers, in 1921, sent me a copy of an old deed, discovered by him, of date June 13, 1713, referring to

WUNDACHQUI, WUNDACHKWI, UNDAKWI.

"The place over there." (?) Cf. *ika, achqui,* yonder, over, there, *undach,* here, this way (Br., 50, 148; Zr., 93).

1. Wantage, N. J.

YU-WISK-HANNE, JUH-WISH-HANNE, etc.

"A stream running in a contrary, or indirect course." (Heck., *Names,* 371.)

1. Youghiogheny Creek, Fayette County, Pa.

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a tract of 500 acres of land, at the mouth of the present Pidcocks Creek (*i.e.*, the site of the present Neeleys Mill), as land previously deeded to John Pidcock 'to dig ore in' and 'as commonly called Winnahawchunick.'

"Knowing nothing of this, I had previously, about 1895, by discovcery of Indian relics, established, as I supposed, the site of an Indian village, in the field, between the Neeley barns and the canal.

"Doylestown, Penna., Feb. 6, 1925. H. C. Mercer."

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